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MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
REIGN OF GEORGE III.  
FROM  
HIS ACCESSION,  
TO  
THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

---

BY WILLIAM BELSHAM.

---

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

---

THE SIXTH EDITION.

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BENEFICIO QUAM METU OBLIGARE HOMINES MALIT; EXTERASQUE GENTES FIDE  
AC SOCIETATE JUNCTAS HABERE, QUAM TRISTI SUBJECTAS SERVITIO.

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1808.

## ЛІТОМІС

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

HAVING by the publication of the present volumes brought the History of Great Britain to a period, beyond which it is not the intention of the author to continue his work, nothing now remains but to return his grateful acknowledgements to the Public at large, for the high and distinguished patronage which he has received from the distant commencement, and during the varied progress of it—a patronage, considering the circumstances of the times, far superior to the cool calculation of his expectations, and even the most sanguine suggestion of his hopes.

He would not be thought indifferent to the censure he has incurred, by the free and unrestrained avowal of his sentiments, in re-

## ADVERTISEMENT.

lation to the political conduct of various personages, for whose general characters he entertains a sincere respect. But far be from him that "frigid philosophy," which, in treating upon subjects the most interesting to the human welfare and happiness, can satisfy itself with that sort of impartiality, or rather of monkish insensibility, which confines its efforts and its object to a simple and naked recital of facts, without adverting to principles, or to the bearings and tendencies of different and opposite systems of action. On the contrary, he has labored, invariably and assiduously, to inculcate such principles and sentiments as have been proved by the reasonings of the ablest political writers, by the practice of the greatest statesmen, and by the uniform tenor of historical evidence, to be in the highest degree beneficial to mankind. For any occasional warmth of language, arising from this source, he trusts that the Public will think an apology very unnecessary:

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

and, on the calmest retrospection of his own views and motives, he has none to offer.

The critical reader will nevertheless find, that various expressions, bordering upon anger and asperity, are, in the latest edition of the preceding volumes of this history, altered and modified; and, in those now offered to the Public, the author has been solicitous not to transgress the limits of that freedom which is the inseparable privilege and characteristic of historical composition.

It was with great difficulty I determined what to do.  
I could not bear to let him go, but I could not  
allow him to remain here without being exposed  
to many great dangers, especially as he had  
quarreled with his master, and I could not have any  
confidence in his master's word, and I could not  
see him go about, exposed to many dangers,  
knowing full well that he will get into difficulties  
and be exposed to great danger, if he went about  
alone. So I said to him, "I will take you with me  
and I will see that you are safe, and you will be  
safe." And he said, "I will go with you, and I will  
be safe."

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HISTORY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN.

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GEORGE III.

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BOOK XXXI.

SESSION of Parliament 1798-9. Debate on the Address. Mr. Tierney's Motion for Peace. Debate on the Renewal of the Habeas-Corpus Suspension. Case of Colonel Despard. Income-Tax imposed. Loan of fifteen Millions. Message from the King relating to Ireland. Debates on the Message in the House of Commons. Resolutions moved and carried, containing Overtures of Union with Ireland. Debates on the Union in the House of Lords. Able Speech of Lord Minto. Address of both Houses to the King, approving of the Union. Motion of Mr. Wilberforce on the Slave-Trade negatived. Statement of India Affairs. Treason Forfeiture-Bill. Session of Parliament in Ireland. Vehement Debates on the Address. Irish-House of Peers favourable to the Plan of Union. Dissent of the Irish Commons. State of Parties in Ireland. The Ministry gain Ground in Parliament. Lord Corry's Motion rejected. Mr. Ponsonby's Motion rejected. Government determined to persevere. Dilatory and

## HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

ineffective Proceedings of the Congress at Rastadt. Recommencement of Hostilities between Austria and France. Army of General Jourdain passes the Rhine. Operations in Germany—and in Switzerland. Successes of the Archduke Charles. Battle of Stockach. Retreat of Jourdain. Imbecility of the directorial Government. General Lecourbe penetrates into the Tyrol. General Scherer appointed to the chief Command in Lombardy. Oppressive Measures of the Directory. Disasters of the Army under General Scherer. Battle of Magnan. General Lecourbe evacuates the Tyrol. General Jourdain superceded by General Massena. Arrival of the Russians in Italy, under Marshal Suvaroff. General Scherer resigns the Command to General Moreau. Negotiation of Rastadt finally broken off. Secret Articles of the Treaty of Campo Fornio. Assassination of the French Ministers, Bonnier and Roberjot. Injurious Imputations cast on the Court of Vienna. Violent Resentment displayed by the French Government. Civil Dissensions in France. The Abbé Sieyes chosen a Member of the Directory. Retreat of Moreau. Battle of the Adda. General Suvaroff enters Milan. Luciensteig captured by the Austrians. Loss of Casal. Further Retreat of Moreau. Turin surrenders to General Suvaroff. Army of Naples retreats to Tuscany. Naples surrenders to Cardinal Ruffo. Horrible Excesses of the Neapolitan Court. Proceedings of the Court countenanced by the British naval Commander. Extirpation or Banishment of the Neapolitan Patriots. Battle of Schaffhausen. Zurich surrenders to the Archduke. Operations in Lombardy and in Tuscany. General Macdonald recovers Modena. General Moreau retires to Genoa. Battle of the Trebia. General Macdonald seeks Refuge in the Genoese. Austrians take Possession of Florence—and of Leghorn. Mantua surrenders to General Kray. Arrival of a second Army of Russians. General Joubert appointed Successor to Moreau. Battle of Novi. Joubert killed. General Suvaroff departs from Italy. Invasion of the Palatinate—repelled by the Archduke. General Championet assumes the Command in the room of Moreau. First

*Successes of Suvaroff in Switzerland. Battle of Zurich. Death of General Hotze. Triumphs of General Massena. Suwaroff retreats into the Grisons. Battle of Constance. Return of the Archduke to Switzerland. Declaration of the Emperor Paul. Suwaroff evacuates the Grisons. Battle of Genola. Surrender of Ancona—and of Coni. Junction of the French and Spanish Fleets. Death of Pius VI. Investment of Rome. Rome surrenders to the Arms of Great Britain. Generosity of the British Commander.*

THE session of parliament commenced on the 20th of November, 1798, with a speech from the throne, full of elation at the recent successes of the British arms, and of the firmest confidence in present prospects. “The unexampled series of our naval triumphs,” said his majesty, “has received fresh splendor from the memorable and decisive action in which a detachment of my fleet, under the command of rear-admiral lord Nelson, attacked and almost totally destroyed a superior force of the enemy, strengthened by every advantage of situation. By this great and brilliant victory, an enterprise, of which the injustice, perfidy, and extravagance, had fixed the attention of the world, and which was peculiarly directed against some of the most valuable interests of the British empire, has in the first instance been turned to the confusion of its authors; and the blow thus given to the power and influence of France has afforded an opening, which, if improved by suitable exertions on the

BOOK  
XXXI.1798.  
Session of  
parliament,  
1798-9.

BOOK part of the other powers, may lead to the general  
XXXI. deliverance of Europe.

1798. “The wisdom and magnanimity so eminently displayed at this conjuncture by the emperor of Russia, and the decision and vigor of the Ottoman Porte, have shown that these powers are impressed with a just sense of the present crisis; and their example, joined to the disposition manifested almost universally in the different countries struggling under the yoke of France, must be a powerful encouragement to other states to adopt that vigorous line of conduct which experience has proved to be alone consistent with security or honor.”

Debate on the address. The address moved in the upper house by the earl of Darnley was ably animadverted upon by the marquis of Lansdown, who exhorted the ministers of the crown “to draw from those victories, so much and so justly celebrated, the advantages they were calculated to secure, and to make them the means of attaining that most desirable of all objects, a safe and honorable peace. Instead of this, the continuance of war was announced. But could we place any reliance on such a league as that which now subsisted between Russia and the Porte? Was it upon such allies that we could depend for a vigorous co-operation? It would be wise to lay aside all idle plans of conquest; a spirit of moderation and disinterested-

ness should govern our conduct; and the true <sup>B O O K</sup>  
dignity of the nation would be consulted in making such concessions as were necessary for the <sup>XXXI.</sup> <sup>1798.</sup> restoration of the general tranquillity, at this moment of gratulation and victory."

Lord Holland said, "that if the only consequence of the victories we had gained was to be a revival of the horrors of war, England had little cause to rejoice. The speech from the throne held forth the probable success of a powerful confederacy against France. We had heard such language before; but we had only seen devastations extended over the surface of the globe, with less and less prospect of procuring tranquillity. He felt the difficulty of succeeding, in the hour of victory, in any attempt to moderate desire. He knew that it was an unwelcome task to address their lordships on the subject of peace; but he coincided in opinion with his noble friend, that the greatest victories were useless, unless employed to obtain this legitimate end of war."

Lord Mulgrave expressed his astonishment that any Englishman should think this to be the moment for proposing peace. Occupying a proud station, we ought not to forget our superiority, by renewing negotiations which presented no prospect of honorable termination. Britain stood high amongst the nations of Europe; she ought to invite them to combine under

BOOK her auspices, to resort to her banner for protection, and to confide in her efforts for security.

XXXI.  
1798. Lord Grenville highly approved the sentiments of the last noble speaker. The powers of the continent, his lordship said, were now willing to adopt a line of conduct more suited to their intérêts, and was this a moment for England to show that she was guided by little, selfish politics? Instead of accelerating the fate of Europe, and abandoning the victims of French domination to their misery, it ought to be the business of Great Britain to animate their efforts, and contribute to their deliverance. It was the duty of ministers to promulgate this glorious purpose, to conciliate differences, to allay jealousies, and not, by reviving them, to prevent that co-operation which was so necessary to the general safety, and so intimately connected with the true intérêts of the country. The question upon the address was then put, and carried without a division.

In the house of commons a similar address was moved by lord Granville Levison Gower. The benches formerly occupied by the minority still appeared almost deserted. A feeble opposition was, however, yet maintained by those few members adverse to the ministry, who had not joined in the secession. Sir John Sinclair imputed gross misconduct to the administration, in

not resisting the progress of the French in EGYPT, by sending thither a body of land forces; and in the course of his speech referred to the disastrous consequences of the successive expeditions to St. Domingo, which he affirmed to have been rashly undertaken, unskilfully prosecuted, and at length disgracefully abandoned. It would be necessary to inquire into the number of troops which had been sacrificed in this project, and the sums of money unavailingly squandered upon it.

Sir Francis Burdett charged the speech with a studied ambiguity, which rendered it impossible to judge of the future measures of administration. "What was meant by the DELIVERANCE OF EUROPE, he could not conjecture. One thing, however, was plain: our victories were only signals of new expeditions, and accumulated burdens, instead of accelerating the long-wished-for blessing *peace*. If unanimity be desirable, in order to obtain it, restore to us our good old laws, let the representation be reformed, let the *bastiles* erected in Britain be destroyed, and the constitution be re-established: without these, to call upon the country for unconditional support was adding mockery and insult to injury and injustice." The question was carried, as in the upper house, without a division.

On the 11th of December, Mr. Tierney moved

BOOK the house for an address, advising his majesty  
XXXI. not to enter into any engagements which could  
impede a negotiation for peace, whenever a dis-  
position appeared in the French republic to  
treat on terms consistent with the interests of  
Great Britain. This motion he enforced in an  
able speech. "It might," he said, "be objected,  
that such an address would tend to damp the  
rising spirit of Europe: but a second confederacy  
against France, grounded upon any rational  
principle, was not at all to be expected; and a  
confederacy void of principle was not at all to be  
desired. Was the confidence which had been  
placed in Austria and Prussia, on the former oc-  
casion, justified by the event? and could England  
have more confidence in either of them, after  
having been deserted by both? If a second con-  
federacy were formed, it would be dissolved long  
before the object of it could be accomplished."

Mr. Tierney reminded the house, "that, after the  
breaking up of the conferences at Lisle, his ma-  
jesty had, in the declaration published by him on  
that occasion, when his arms had been crowned  
with recent success, given to his people, and to all  
Europe, the most solemn assurances of his readi-  
ness to conclude peace whenever the enemy ex-  
hibited proofs of a pacific disposition on their  
part. Why should the victory of lord Nelson  
produce an opposite effect to that gained the

1798.  
Mr. Tier-  
ney's mo-  
tion for  
peace.

preceding year by lord Duncan? We were carrying on a war which had added one hundred and eighty millions to the public debt; and which had created the necessity of adding eight millions annually to the public burdens,—a sum equal to the whole of the national expenditure previous to the American war. The country, indeed, suffered without complaining; for the law suspending the Habeas-Corpus act had silenced every one, excepting the members of that house. But, viewing as he did the situation of affairs, he must seriously ask how much longer this system of destruction could be supported?" After a debate of some length, the motion of Mr. Tierney was negatived without a division.

On the second reading of the bill for renewing the suspension of the Habeas-Corpus act, (December 21,) an interesting discussion took place. Mr. Courtney remarked, "that the Habeas-Corpus act was the statute upon which the personal liberty of every Englishman depended. To the operation of that law, so justly the subject of universal panegyric, was solely owing the paramount security possessed by the natives of this island above all other nations. There were at this moment above seventy persons confined in consequence of the suspension of this act. Had there not been time to bring most of them to a trial? Their trial and conviction would be the

Debate on  
the renew-  
al of the Ha-  
beas Corpus  
suspension.

BOOK best reason for continuing to entrust such power  
XXXI. to the executive government. The people con-  
1798. fined under this suspension had been treated  
with unprecedented rigor and inhumanity.  
Desirous of obtaining some information upon  
the subject, he had procured an order to visit one  
of these state prisons situated in Coldbath Fields,  
and generally known by the name of the Bastile.  
The prisoners were locked up in damp and dis-  
mal cells, without fire, without candle; the only  
means afforded for the admission of light let-  
ting in also the cold and rain. He had talked  
with many of the prisoners; amongst the rest  
colonel Despard, an officer who had been many  
years employed in the service of his country.  
Though lately removed to a different part of the  
prison, he had been long confined in the way  
now stated; and even his wife was never per-  
mitted to see him but through an iron grate, for  
a few minutes. He appealed to the house, whe-  
ther such rigor ought to be practised even to  
felons; and much less in relation to men who  
were deprived of the benefit of a trial; and who  
might, if tried, very possibly be able to prove  
their innocence. In the French bastile, prison-  
ers had been treated much better than in this."

Mr. secretary Dundas said the question before  
the house was, whether the bill suspending the  
Habeas-Corpus act should be read a second time,

or not ; and that the observations of the honorable gentleman had no earthly connection with it. B O O K  
XXXI.  
1798.

They related merely to the good or bad conduct of a jail, and had nothing to do with the power delegated by the legislature to the executive government, by the present bill, for purposes of national safety. The management of jails was under the care of sheriffs and magistrates ; and to them the honorable gentleman, if induced by sympathy to deplore the sufferings of the seditious, should have made his complaint.

Mr. Tierney insisted that the observations of the honorable gentleman were perfectly relevant to the question. Whatever pretext of danger had induced the house to consent to the original suspension, it no longer subsisted. There was now no apprehension of invasion, no appearance of disaffection ; and when, under the suspension contended for, a gentleman suspected of treason was treated as a felon convicted of crimes, it was a strong reason why a power so liable to abuse, and in fact so flagrantly abused, should be discontinued, unless better grounds for its renewal were offered than the house had yet heard.

Sir Francis Burdett corroborated the assertions of Mr. Courtney, and declared it to be the duty of that house to take care that the extraordinary powers which it granted should not be abused ;

BOOK and it possessed the power to grant such an in-

XXXI.

quest as was necessary to put an end to oppres-

1798. sion, if there was proof that it had been exercised.

And unless strong evidence could be adduced of the conspiracies of which we had been told, we ought not to relinquish this bulwark of our personal liberty.

On the other hand, Mr. Wilberforce contended that nothing could be more satisfactory than the accounts he had heard of the situation and health of the prisoners; and that it was no light thing to charge the executive government with acting malignantly in respect to the prisoners confined under the suspension. Many of the regulations which prevailed in this prison were recommended by the excellent Howard \*. Those who believed the country to be in danger ought not to relax their efforts, or deprive the executive power of the means to provide for its security. Nor should it be forgotten, that men who

\* It must be remarked, that the regulations alluded to by Mr. Wilberforce, and recommended by Mr. Howard, had relation merely to felons, and persons grossly vicious and immoral. No man was more susceptible of compassion than Mr. Howard, at the view of barbarities wantonly or unnecessarily inflicted even on delinquents of this description; and no man would have felt more indignant that his name should be used as a bar to any species of equitable or practicable investigation, either judicial or parliamentary.

expose themselves to suspicion must often incur <sup>BOOK</sup>  
the disadvantages of guilt. <sup>XXXI.</sup>

Mr. Pitt treated the opposition to the bill with  
much contempt, and asked if this was a time to  
slumber, when there existed men who were  
hourly planning our destruction? men who  
never waked nor slept, nor walked abroad, with-  
out holding up to our view, as it were, a dagger  
streaming with blood! Ought we to cast aside  
that shield which alone enabled us to defy its  
point? The question was then put, and carried  
with the customary superiority.

On the motion of commitment, nevertheless,  
the debate was renewed with fresh vigor. Mr.  
Courtney urged, that last year the house pro-  
ceeded on the express declaration of the king,  
“ that preparations were making in the ports of  
France, Flanders, and Holland, for an invasion of  
these realms; and that in this attempt the enemy  
was encouraged by the correspondence of traito-  
rous persons and societies of these kingdoms.”  
Here was a plain reason assigned for the suspen-  
sion: but were our enemies now preparing to  
invade us? Had not the glory of Great Britain  
been extended over Europe by our late victories?  
and was it probable that the French would choose  
the present moment to attack this country, when  
they were unable to defend their former con-  
quests? Mr. Courtney, again adverting to the

BOOK situation of the state prisoners, re-asserted that  
they were treated with the most unprecedented  
1798. and unjustifiable rigor; and he defied any per-  
son to adduce instances from past times of simi-  
lar severity. To corroborate these assertions, he  
begged leave to read a letter from the wife of  
colonel Despard; which was as follows:

Case of co-  
lonel De-  
spard.

" Some mention having been made in news-  
paper reports of the house of commons, relative  
to the treatment of colonel Despard in the new  
prison, I think it necessary to state, that he was  
confined near seven months in a damp cell, not  
seven feet square, without fire or candle, chair,  
table, knife, fork, a glazed window, -or even a  
book. I made several applications in person to  
Mr. Wickham, and by letter to the duke of Portland,  
all to no purpose. The 20th of last month  
he was removed into a room with a fire, but not  
till his feet were ulcerated by a frost. For the  
truth of this statement I appeal to the honorable  
Mr. Lawless and John Reeves, esq., who visited  
him in prison, and at whose intercession he was  
removed. The jailor will bear witness that he  
never made any complaint of his treatment, how-  
ever severe it was. This statement of facts is  
without the knowledge of the colonel, who has  
served his majesty thirty years, and all his family  
are now in the army."

Berkeley-square.

"CATHARINE DESPARD."

Mr. Courtney hoped, when this matter was first mentioned to him, that it was not known to ministers: but this letter bore proof to the contrary; and in his opinion the abuse of the power intrusted to government might be very forcibly and logically urged against its renewal.

On the other hand, the attorney-general stated that the duke of Portland had, in consequence of the application of Mrs. Despard, given orders for the removal of the colonel from the cell to the apartment which he now occupied; and subsequent directions were given for all the prisoners to have every indulgence compatible with security. And Mr. Burdon, member for the county of Durham, informed the house, that he had also visited the prison, and that the cells were neither damp nor unwholesome; and colonel Despard had expressed himself well satisfied with his situation. The house then went into a committee upon the bill, and the suspension was continued to the 21st of May, 1799.

In the house of lords the measure of suspension was resisted by the lords Suffolk and Holland, by arguments similar to those urged by the minority in the house of commons, and with as little effect.

The enormous and increasing expenditure of the present war had induced the minister, in the course of the last session, to bring forward,

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BOOK and the house to sanction, what, in the language  
XXXI. of Mr. Pitt, was styled “a new and solid system  
1798. of finance;” the principle of which was to borrow,  
upon the credit of a new and very heavy tempo-  
rary tax, that large proportion of the loan which  
exceeded the sum discharged by the operation of  
the sinking fund; so that no addition should be  
made to the permanent debt. The tax imposed,  
however, for this purpose, called the triple assess-  
ment, was not only extremely unequal and op-  
pressive in its operation, but it produced a sum  
so short of the minister’s original estimate, as to  
make it evident to all, that, if the war continued  
but a few years longer, this temporary tax must  
be converted, by the successive mortgages upon  
it, into a perpetual one. Had Mr. Pitt, at the  
commencement of the present war, adopted a  
system of finance founded on the basis of the pre-  
sent proposition, it would have been perfectly  
feasible; but the exhausted state of the revenue,  
after an addition of two hundred millions to the  
debt, made it now extremely difficult to devise  
any tax sufficiently productive to sustain the  
pressure of that prodigious load which it was of  
the essence of this plan to lay upon it. Though  
much obloquy has been frequently cast upon the  
funding system, as ruinous in its nature, and  
though it has undoubtedly been ruinous in its  
consequences, it must nevertheless be acknow-

ledged, that under a wise and provident government, if such a government could be supposed to exist for any length of time in any country, this would be incomparably the easiest and most eligible mode of raising supplies, provided the taxes mortgaged for the payment of the interest of the successive loans should produce a surplus sufficient to liquidate the principal within a given and reasonable term.

From the inexcusable neglect of this axiom, the national debt of Great Britain had accumulated to the present exorbitant amount; so that it was now a perplexing problem for the ablest minister, to ascertain by what means, and under what modifications, the future supplies ought to be raised. Mr. Pitt, however, determined to adhere to the plan which he had with so much confidence proposed the last year: but entirely changing the medium by which he had then engaged to carry it into effect, he on the 3d of December, 1798, moved "that the triple assessment should be altogether repealed; and, in lieu of it, that a general tax, subject to the same incumbrances, should be imposed upon the aggregate amount of the INCOME of each individual. No scale of income, he observed, could be devised which would be perfectly free from the objection of inequality; but this was a tax which seemed to approach nearer than any other to a fair and

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equal contribution. The commissioners, who  
were to be invested with a power of fixing the rate  
of every person's income, should be men respect-  
able both for character and situation, and pos-  
sessed of estates of a certain value. The list of  
*persons qualified*, to be referred to those gentle-  
men who had served on the two last grand juries,  
in order to make a proper selection; who should  
also choose a second set of commissioners, for  
the purpose of receiving and deciding upon ap-  
peals. In commercial towns, some special pro-  
visions would be necessary, adapted to the na-  
ture of circumstances, and tending, as it subse-  
quently appeared, to establish an inviolable se-  
crecy relative to the incomes of merchants and  
principal traders. Mr. Pitt further stated his  
intention that no income under 60*l.* per annum  
shall be called upon to contribute; and that the  
scale of modification up to 200*l.* per annum  
should be introduced with restriction. The  
quota then required by the proposed act would  
amount to a full tenth of the contributor's in-  
come. He estimated the national income at  
one hundred and two millions; the produce of  
the tax would therefore be ten millions; whereas  
the triple assessment had netted scarcely four  
millions: so that the object for which the assessed  
taxes were designed would be sooner accom-  
plished, and the public would be in the same pro-

portion more speedily relieved. If every motive <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~to exertion continued the same, and every effort~~ <sup>XXXI.</sup> we had made was a source of pride and exultation to the heart, should we not," said the minister, "persevere in a course so fairly calculated to bring us to a happy issue?" <sup>1798.</sup>

Notwithstanding these vain and ill-timed boasts, the nation at large saw and felt that a more arbitrary and oppressive impost was never devised nor attempted by the most rapacious tyranny in any age or country. Yet was it evident to all reflecting persons, that some effectual means *must* be resorted to, in order to avert the imminent danger which threatened the very existence of the community, from the ruinous and alarmingly accelerated progress of the funding system. The war, however unjust or unnecessary in its origin, *must* now be supported. Remote from immediate danger, Great Britain had ever been too ready to engage in war; and in one view, the more odious and oppressive the new impost might be, the more beneficially would it operate by making war itself odious and detestable. But when it was proposed to mortgage this temporary or "war tax," as it was at first styled, in order to defray the interest of immense loans to be raised upon the credit of it, the greatest of all delusions was to be apprehended; and it appeared but too proba-

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ble that it would never again be abolished or re-pealed.

1798. Though the *principle* of raising the supplies in great part within the year was cheerfully and honorably acceded to by all descriptions of persons in the house, the details and specific provisions of the bill were assailed by very powerful objections. Mr. Tierney compared the present project of finance to the worst of the revolutionary measures of France. It put the tenth of all the property of the kingdom into requisition ; and as the prelude to this, a general disclosure of property must take place. Did any thing worse than this occur in the annals of revolutionary rapine ? Could the man who now declaimed so eloquently against the accumulation of capital, be the same person who, in the short space of five years, had added so enormously to the public debt ? Did the minister mean to say that a life income, and an income arising from a disposable capital, were in fairness liable to the same impositions ? The scale of taxation was also manifestly inequitable and unjust. If it was right that the scale should rise from 60*l.* to 200*l.* per annum, why should it not continue to rise from 200*l.* upwards ? The man of 200*l.* per annum would be deprived of a part of the moderate comforts he possessed, while the man of 20,000*l.* would still riot in the enjoyment of all his luxu-

ries. To seize the tenth of every man's income, <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~XXXI.~~ was like taking away the tenth of every man's ~~stature.~~ <sup>1798.</sup> stature. The overgrown in riches, or in stature, would not be hurt, but it would reduce those who were already diminutive to pygmies.

Upon the commercial clauses of the bill, sir Francis Baring made some very important observations; the justice of which, in defiance of the empty boasts of commercial honor, time and experience sufficiently evinced. He affirmed, that under the veil of secrecy, which covered the commercial returns, the bill would be evaded, and frauds committed, BEYOND ANY THING IT WAS POSSIBLE TO CONCEIVE. But supposing the bill carried into effect, it was a tax upon industry and upon enterprise. The profits arising from capital, he said, ought not to be touched; when converted into capital, indeed, they became the fit subject of taxation. Approving of the general principle, he disliked the measure, under the aspect which it presented, and augured ill of its success.

Mr. William Smith also declared his decided approbation of the principle of the bill. By raising a very large sum within the year, he thought that the public finances could alone be preserved from impending ruin. But the provisions of the bill he deemed in the highest degree exceptionable. Where, or on what grounds of political economy, had it ever been asserted in

BOOK word, or imagined in thought, or by what cri-  
XXXI. terion could it be adjudged fair and honest, to  
1798. tax in an equal degree industry and indolence?

A stockholder who received 500*l.* annually from his capital in the funds, and a shopkeeper of small property, who by active exertions, made 500*l.* per annum of his business, were similarly rated. Even in the funds, proprietors of the long annuities, of the perpetual annuities, and of the exchequer annuities which expire in five years, were put precisely upon a level. The people of England had supported a great deal, but he believed they were not able, he hoped they were not willing, to support the present measure.

Sir William Pulteney reprobated the bill as most unconstitutional in its spirit and tendency. While the Habeas-Corpus act was suspended, we had, however necessary the suspension might be deemed, no security for our personal liberty: if the present bill passed, such were the inquisitorial powers vested in the commissioners that we had no security for our property. It was hostile in its very nature to the radical principles of freedom, and most dangerously attacked the vitals of our constitution.

Notwithstanding these various objections, which the minister treated with little ceremony, the bill finally passed by a vast majority.

In the upper house it was again opposed by

the lords Suffolk and Holland, and the duke of <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~BOOK~~ <sup>XXXI.</sup> Bedford; and defended by the earl of Liverpool, ~~BOOK~~ <sup>1798.</sup> the lords Grenville and Auckland, and the lord chancellor; and passed without a division. The most remarkable circumstance which attended its passage through this house originated in an observation of lord Holland, who, in the course of his speech, urged upon ministers the fatal consequences, both foreign and domestic, which had resulted from the war, and which, could they have been foreseen, he doubted not would have induced those who possessed the confidence of his majesty to have counselled him against engaging in it. On this lord Grenville, rising in great warmth, declared, "that he would for himself repeat it an hundred times over, that had he been perfectly assured before-hand of all the events which had happened; the subjugation and pillage of Italy, Switzerland, and Flanders, the conquest of Holland, or even the murder of the king of France, he would have recommended the adoption of the same system which this country had pursued, and which he should consider as deriving additional urgency from those very circumstances."

One hundred and twenty thousand seamen and marines, and about two hundred and fifty thousand land forces of different descriptions being voted by the house, the sum to be raised for the current

~~BOOK~~ service of the year was no less than thirty-one  
~~XXXI.~~ millions. Of this immense charge, the unmort-  
gaged taxes on malt, &c., lottery, sinking fund,  
convoy-tax recently imposed, and arrear of the  
triple assessment, covered eight millions and a half.  
The produce of the income-tax for the present year,  
with all its modifications and exemptions, was  
now calculated at seven millions and a half.  
It was, moreover, mortgaged for eleven millions,  
with the accruing interest: and the remaining  
four millions were provided for in the usual mode  
by perpetual taxes. This was not more than  
equal to the sum discharged by the commissioners  
under the sinking-fund acts. So that, according  
to the flattering representation of the minister,  
no addition was made to the permanent debt of  
the nation. But, by the new mode of funding,  
the 10 per cent. income-tax would in a short  
time be absorbed and perpetuated, and the whole  
project was, by all impartial persons, regarded as  
a miserable delusion.

~~Loan of fifteen millions.~~

The reputation, however, derived from the  
fallacious idea of preventing any permanent in-  
crease of the public debt, combined with the  
effects produced by the operation of the land-  
tax redemption act, and the recent successes of  
the British arms, had considerably raised the  
value of the public funds; so that Mr. Pitt was  
enabled to negotiate the new loan at the rate

of only 175*l.* 3 per cents. for 100*l.* in money; <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~the advantages of funding in a 4 or 5 per cent.~~ <sup>XXXI.</sup> stock, on which he had formerly and with good reason placed very great stress, being now, with the rest of his early opinions, entirely forgotten and forsaken.

On the 22d of January, 1799, a message from the crown, of a very high and important nature, was delivered to the house by Mr. secretary Dundas, to the following effect:

“ GEORGE R.

“ His majesty is persuaded, that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament; and his majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating this design, by disposing the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide in the manner which they shall judge most expedient for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential for their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire.”

That a complete legislative union with Ireland would be a measure highly conducive to the in-

BOOK terests of the empire at large, as well as to the  
XXXI. security and prosperity of that great and impor-

1799. tant branch of it in particular, had long been the fixed opinion of many enlightened patriots, faithful and zealous friends to every measure, proceeding from whatever quarter, which appeared to them of a salutary and beneficial tendency. And the present juncture seemed peculiarly favorable to the accomplishment of this grand design. Even the errors of government contributed to facilitate its execution. The severities exercised upon the catholics, under the sanction of the Irish parliament, had made the parliament itself odious to the bulk of the nation. The sentiment of pride, wounded by the extinction of their independent legislature, had given way to that of a rooted detestation; and they contemplated its eventual annihilation with a sort of gloomy triumph.

The dread entertained by the protestants of Ireland, of a final separation from Great Britain, and of the establishment of a democratic republic, allied with, or, in other words, dependent upon and subject to, the directorial tyranny of France, extremely diminished the unpopularity of an incorporate union with Britain, which they regarded as the most effectual preservative from the existing and impending evils.

The prodigious and almost unbounded influence of the crown, over the members of the

legislative bodies in that kingdom, would doubtless be exerted to the utmost upon this great occasion; and the resolute and persevering temper of the present minister would not be deterred from the prosecution of his plan, by the intervention of any subordinate or incidental obstacles.

The unbiassed opinion of a great majority of the English nation appeared very favorable to the measure, and even of those who were, in general, very adverse to the politics of the minister. A considerable number of individuals nevertheless, of the highest ability and integrity, were either extremely dubious as to the expediency of the union proposed, or decidedly hostile to it.

The royal message was taken into early discussion on January the 23d, when Mr. secretary Dundas moved an address, importing that the house would proceed with all due dispatch to the consideration of the several interests recommended to their serious attention in the message. Mr. Sheridan declared, that he was perfectly ready on this occasion to give credit to ministers for purity of intention, as they could not be suspected of proposing a measure, which, in their own opinion, tended ultimately to the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. He said that the object of the message was evidently a UNION, though the word itself was not to be found in it. But,

Debates on  
the mes-  
sage in the  
house of  
commons,

BOOK did the people of Ireland manifest any wish to  
XXXI. unite? On the contrary, they had unequivocally  
1799. declared themselves hostile to this design; and if  
it was effected, it would be a union accomplished  
by fraud, corruption, and intimidation. He  
asked, how the terms of the *final adjustment*,  
made and agreed to by the parliaments of the  
two countries, came to fail. Before the recom-  
mendation contained in the message was at-  
tended to, it was incumbent upon ministers to  
show, that the last pledge of the English parlia-  
ment to the people of Ireland, by which their in-  
dependence was recognized, and their rights ac-  
knowledged, had not produced that unanimity  
which the parliaments of the two countries sought  
to cherish. And he concluded with moving, as  
an amendment to the address proposed, "at the  
same time to express the surprise and deep re-  
gret with which the house, for the first time, learn-  
ed from his majesty, that the *final adjustment*,  
which, upon his majesty's gracious recom-  
mendation, took place between the two kingdoms in  
1782, had not produced the effects expected from  
that solemn settlement: and further humbly to  
express to his majesty, that his faithful commons  
had strong reasons to believe, that it was in the  
contemplation of his majesty's ministers to pro-  
pose a union of the legislatures of the two king-  
doms, notwithstanding that final and solemn ad-

justment; humbly imploring his majesty not to ~~BOOK~~  
~~XXXI.~~  
listen to the counsels of those who should advise ~~such a measure at the present crisis."~~

1799.

Mr. Pitt observed, that we had lately seen rebellion raging with inveterate fury in Ireland, and aiming a deadly blow at the connection between that country and Great Britain. Surely, after the restoration of tranquillity, it cannot but be expedient to adopt the most rational means of counteracting those destructive and traitorous designs; and this could by no means be accomplished so effectually as by adopting the measure alluded to in the royal message. With regard to the final adjustment, as it was improperly styled in the Journals of 1782, Mr. Pitt maintained that it was far from ending all occasions of difference between the two countries. When the act passed which established the independency of Ireland, it was accompanied by a resolution, stating the opinion of the house, that the connection between the two kingdoms should be consolidated by future measures or regulations founded upon the basis of mutual consent. This proved how far the adjustment then concluded was from being regarded as final. He referred to the famous and recent instance of the regency, in order to demonstrate that the most dangerous consequences might result from the independency of the two legislatures. He affirmed that the present internal situation of

~~book~~ Ireland was most deplorable; and that the Irish <sup>XXXI.</sup> legislature, from the peculiar circumstances of the 1799. nation, and not from any defect of intention or want of talent, was incapable of restoring and maintaining the happiness of the people, and fixing the prosperity of the state on a firm and lasting basis. After a sharp altercation, Mr. Sheridan withdrawing his amendment, the original motion was put and carried.

On the 31st of January, the order of the day being read, Mr. Pitt rose, and said, that when he proposed to the house to fix that day for the further consideration of his majesty's message, he indulged a hope that the result of a similar communication to the parliament of Ireland would have opened a more favorable prospect than at present existed, of the speedy accomplishment of the measure then in contemplation. He had, however, been disappointed by the proceedings of the Irish house of commons. He was convinced that the parliament of Ireland possessed the power, the entire competence, to accept or reject a proposition of this nature, a power which he by no means meant to dispute. But while he admitted the rights of the parliament of Ireland, he felt that, as a member of parliament of Great Britain, he had a right to exercise and a duty to perform; viz. to express the general nature and outline of the plan, which, in his estimation, would tend to

insure the safety and the happiness of the two <sup>B O O K</sup>  
kingdoms. Should parliament be of opinion that <sup>XXXI.</sup>  
it was calculated to produce mutual advantage to <sup>1799.</sup>  
the two kingdoms, he should propose it, in order  
to its being recorded on the journals of that  
house, leaving the rejection or adoption of this  
plan to the full and future consideration of the  
legislature of Ireland. Notwithstanding the  
opinion expressed by the Irish house of commons,  
he was convinced that the measure was founded  
upon such clear and demonstrable grounds of  
utility, and attended with so many advantages to  
Ireland, that all which was necessary to be done  
to insure its future adoption was, that it should  
be stated distinctly, temperately, and fully, and  
then left to the unprejudiced judgment of the  
parliament of Ireland. Mr. Pitt remarked, that  
the union with Scotland was as much opposed,  
and by nearly the same arguments, prejudices,  
and misconceptions; creating the same alarms as  
had recently taken place in respect to Ireland:  
yet could any man now doubt of the advantages  
which Scotland had derived from the union? One  
of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of  
Ireland was the want of industry and the want  
of capital, which were only to be supplied by  
blending more closely with Ireland the industry  
and capital of this country. In the present state  
of things also, and while Ireland remained a sepa-

~~BOOK~~ ~~XXXI.~~ rate kingdom, no reasonable person would affirm

~~BOOK~~ ~~XXXI.~~ that full concessions could be made to the catho-

1799. lics, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. At the conclusion of a very able speech, he proposed a series of resolutions, and moved that the house resolve itself into a committee to discuss the same in their proper order.

~~Resolu-~~  
~~tions moved~~  
~~and carri-~~  
~~ed contain-~~  
~~ing over-~~  
~~tures of~~  
~~union with~~  
~~Ireland.~~ “ I. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms.

“ II. That it appears to this committee, that it would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom by the name of THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

“ III. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdoms shall

continue limited and settled, in the same manner <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~as the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of~~ <sup>XXXI.</sup> ~~Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and~~ <sup>1799.</sup> settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

“ IV. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled “ the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland ;” and that such a number of lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland, previous to the said union ; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the united kingdom shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take and subscribe the same oaths, and make the same declaration, as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

“ V. That for the same purpose it appears also

~~BOOK~~  
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1799. to this committee, that it would be fit to propose  
that the churches of England and Ireland, and  
the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government  
thereof, shall be preserved as now by law es-  
tablished.

“ VI. That for the same purpose it appears also  
to this committee, that it would be fit to propose  
that his majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all  
times hereafter be entitled to the same privileges,  
and be on the same footing in respect of trade  
and navigation in all ports and places belonging  
to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to  
which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his  
heirs, or successors, with any foreign power, as  
his majesty's subjects in Great Britain; that no  
duty shall be imposed on the import or export  
between Great Britain and Ireland, of any ar-  
ticles now duty free; and that on other articles  
there shall be established, for a time to be limited,  
such a moderate rate of equal duties as shall,  
previous to the union, be agreed upon and ap-  
proved by the respective parliaments, subject,  
after the expiration of such limited time, to be  
diminished equally with respect to both king-  
doms, but in no case to be increased: that all  
articles which may at any time hereafter be im-  
ported into Great Britain from foreign parts, shall  
be importable through either kingdom into the  
other, subject to the like duties and regulations

as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts: that where any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties, over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid, shall be imposed, as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect: and that all other matters of trade and commerce other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

“ VII. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively. That for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom in peace or war should be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union. And that after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportions shall not be

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1799. liable to be varied, except according to such rates  
and principles as shall be in like manner agreed  
upon previous to the union.

“VIII. That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and that all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require.

“That the foregoing resolutions be laid before his majesty, with an humble address, assuring his majesty that we have proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended to us in his majesty's gracious message.

“That we entertain a firm persuasion that a *complete and entire union* between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles; on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government; and on a sense of mutual interests and affections, by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce of the respective kingdoms, and by allaying the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of our foreign and do-

mestic enemies, and must tend to confirm and ~~book~~ augment the stability, power, and resources of the ~~empire~~ <sup>XXXI.</sup> 1799.

“ Impressed with these considerations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before his majesty such propositions as appear to us best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his majesty’s wisdom, at such time and in such manner as his majesty, in his parental solicitude for the happiness of his people, shall judge fit, to communicate these propositions to his parliament of Ireland, with whom we shall be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as may be found most conducive to the accomplishment of this great and salutary work. And we trust that, after full and mature consideration, such a settlement may be framed and established by the deliberative consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms, as may be conformable to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his majesty’s faithful subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inseparably in the full enjoyment of the blessings of our free and invaluable constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his majesty’s crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire.”

Mr. Sheridan, in reply, again avowed his utter dislike and disapprobation of the measure; and

BOOK expressed his conviction, that in the present con-  
XXXI.  
vulsed and disordered state of Ireland, it was not  
1799. merely impolitic but unsafe to agitate the dis-  
cussion of such topics: and considering the re-  
ception which the proposition in question had  
met with in Ireland, it could scarcely be imagined  
that the right honorable gentleman would per-  
severe. Mr. Sheridan avowed his doubts, whether  
the increase of prosperity which Scotland had  
enjoyed during this last century was to be as-  
cribed to the union. And the evils which were  
predicted from the possible disagreement of two  
independent legislatures might with as much  
plausibility be supposed to result from the dis-  
agreement of two independent houses of legis-  
lature, such as the peers and commons of Great  
Britain: but experience refuted and proved  
the futility of these apprehensions. He then  
stated his intention of moving the following res-  
olutions: "1st, That no measures could have a  
tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of  
amity between Great Britain and Ireland, which  
have not for their basis the fair and free appro-  
bation of the parliaments of the two countries.  
2dly, That whoever shall endeavour to obtain  
such approbation in either country, by employing  
the influence of government for the purposes of  
corruption or intimidation, is an enemy to his  
majesty and the constitution."

Lord Hawkesbury denied that the people of Ireland, collectively taken, were adverse to the measure of a union. The inhabitants of Cork and Limerick had expressed themselves in favor of it; and he had no doubt, if it once came to be duly considered, but that a great majority of the whole nation would view it in the same light. After some further debate, the house divided on the question of the speaker's leaving the chair; ayes 140, noes 15.

On the 7th of February, upon Mr. Sheridan's moving his resolutions in the house, Mr. Pitt observed, that the first of them was a mere truism, to which no one could refuse his assent. The second, he supposed, alluded to the case of a gentleman lately high in office in the Irish administration, who had quitted his post because of his disagreeing in sentiment with his colleagues. But how could any number of persons continue to act together, if they differed in points of essential importance? Or what was there peculiar in a resignation or dismission, under such circumstances? He deemed the first of these resolutions superfluous, and the second improper, and therefore moved the order of the day.

Mr. Grey said, he could see nothing but danger in the discussion of the question, and particularly as it would affect the public mind in Ireland; and the house, in his opinion, should

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have resisted it in the first stage. The union  
which he wished for was not a union of legis-  
latures, but of hearts, affections, and interests.  
Evils of which government was itself the parent  
were made the pretext for depriving Ireland of  
her independency as a nation.

Mr. secretary Dundas remarked, that it was impossible to imagine a remedy more appropriate to the political evils under which Ireland had so recently and severely suffered, than the measure of an incorporative union. The protestants would lay aside their jealousies and distrust, being certain that against any attempt to endanger the protestant establishment in Ireland the whole strength of the united parliament would be exerted. And on the other hand, all those catholics who were friends to the connection with Great Britain, desirous of obtaining every indulgence, and of being admitted into a participation of every privilege consistent with that connection, would be confident that their cause would be candidly and impartially considered by a united parliament. In the case of the Scottish union many melancholy pictures, in the shape of prophecies, were presented to the public view; and he adverted particularly to the celebrated speech of lord Belhaven on that occasion. Scotland, he asserted, could not, without the advantages she derived from the union, ever have advanced so

rapidly in wealth and prosperity as she had done since that æra. The Irish house of commons had expressed what they thought of a union; and it was our business to tell what we think of it also.

Mr. Tierney wished to know what advantages could be obtained by a union which could not be obtained without it. He did not contend that the measure was radically a bad one; but he thought that, after the opinion which had been expressed in the Irish parliament, the right honorable gentleman ought to abstain from pressing it. After a lengthened debate, the house divided for the speaker's leaving the chair 149, against the small minority of 24 who opposed it.

At the next meeting of the house, February 11, Mr. Sheridan asserted, that all the advantages which were professed to be expected from a union would be more certainly attained by the parliament of Great Britain setting the example of abolishing all civil incapacities on account of religious distinctions; and for this end he moved, "that it be an instruction to the committee, to consider how far it would be consistent with justice or policy, and conducive to the general interests, and especially to the consolidation of the strength of the British empire, were civil incapacities, on account of religious distinc-

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799.

BOOK tions, to be done away throughout his majesty's  
XXXI. dominions."

1799. Mr. Pitt asked, what probability there was that the adoption of such a measure by the parliament of Great Britain would induce that of Ireland to adopt it? whether their acceding to it would have the desired effect of annihilating religious animosity? and, supposing these two objects accomplished, how far this would go towards strengthening the connection between the two countries? Mr. Pitt concluded by moving the order of the day; and Mr. Sheridan declined taking the sense of the house upon the subject of his proposition.

The question, whether the adjustment of 1782 was or was not a *final* adjustment between the two countries on all constitutional points, was again warmly, but superfluously, debated. That it could not be regarded as such, properly speaking, even at that time, was sufficiently evident from the act of renunciation passed in 1783. But, allowing the adjustment of 1782, as explained and ratified by the act of renunciation, to be, in a certain and specific sense, final, what was the nature and end of that adjustment? To render the legislature of Ireland perfectly free and independent of Great Britain. When restored, therefore, to that perfect freedom, and

not till then, the parliament of Ireland was competent to treat, upon terms of equality with Great Britain, upon the proposition of an incorporative union. To suppose that the parliament of Ireland, by regaining its independency, precluded itself from treating upon any question which it might have treated upon had that independency never been lost, is, indeed, a solecism too gross to be made the subject of serious discussion. The "final adjustment" of 1782-3 was evidently nothing more than the termination of the disputes actually subsisting, and could have no possible reference to an ulterior arrangement upon questions of a totally different nature at a future and distant period; nor could such ulterior arrangement in any manner infringe upon, or in any degree violate, that prior compact; which was certainly never intended to limit the power of the legislature whose independence it recognised.

On the reading of the first resolution in the committee on the following day, the speaker, Mr. Addington, rose and declared, that he had long been satisfied of the urgent and pressing necessity of the measure in question. There were, he observed, radical and inherent evils closely interwoven with the state and condition of Ireland, which he was convinced the incorporation of the two legislatures only could re-

B O O K  
XXXI.

1799.

BOOK move. In contemplating the situation of Ire-  
XXXI. land even at a period of apparent tranquillity, it  
1799. was impossible not to discover the seeds of hostility, which had unhappily been matured by circumstances into insurrection and rebellion. To account for those long-subsisting animosities, it might be sufficient to state, that a large majority of the people were catholics; and that four-fifths of the property was in the hands of protestants, who are alone legally competent to hold high offices of state, and to perform the functions of the legislature. Hereditary feelings and resentments had besides contributed to keep those elements of internal discord in almost constant agitation. No remedy, therefore, could be effectual but such as would strike at the very root of the evil; by which the protestant and catholic inhabitants of the two countries would become one people, under the superintending authority and protection of a united and imperial parliament. Anxious as he was for the removal of the most obnoxious ground of complaint against what was termed the protestant ascendancy, he sought that object by no other means than those of a legislative union. It had been suggested, as a measure of expediency, to re-enact the whole code of popery laws against the catholics who did not produce certificates of their peaceable and loyal conduct during the late

rebellion. Of this the speaker declared his decided disapprobation. Adverting to the system of 1793, by which the elective franchise and other privileges were imparted to the catholics; and to the opinion of Mr. Foster, the speaker of the Irish parliament, who had said respecting that system, that he considered it as the prelude and certain forerunner of the overthrow of the protestant establishment in Ireland; Mr. Addington observed, that if the predictions of Mr. Foster, with which he confessed his own apprehensions accorded, were well founded, he saw no means by which their accomplishment could possibly be averted but by a legislative union, or by a renewal of the restrictions and disabilities which were done away by the act of 1793. Some gentlemen had entertained an opinion, which he acknowledged was entitled to serious attention and consideration, that as the measure had been discountenanced by the house of commons in Ireland, to persist in the discussion of it here would be to add to the irritation which unhappily prevailed in that country. Such an effect he should most sincerely lament: but he trusted that the resolutions adopted by this house would rather tend to appease than to inflame; that they would be such as might be a pledge of our liberality and our justice, and manifest the sin-

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799.

BOOK cerity of our wishes to extend to Ireland all the  
XXXI. advantages of the British constitution.

1799. The resolutions were then put in their proper order, and carried with trivial opposition. Indeed, these propositions were so wisely and judiciously framed, that, admitting the general policy of the measure, no well-founded or even plausible objection could easily be made to them. The report of the committee being brought up on the 14th, Mr. Pitt moved, that a message be sent to the lords, requesting a conference respecting the means of perpetuating and improving the connection between the two countries.

The subject which had so long and so deeply engaged the attention of the commons, had been at the same time introduced into the house of peers by a similar message from the king, delivered by lord Grenville. The address in answer to this message was voted unanimously by the house; which then adjourned. From this period the business remained dormant in the upper house, till Monday, February the 18th, when the message from the commons was delivered by earl Temple. A conference accordingly taking place in the painted chamber, the lords deputed on this occasion soon returned with a copy of the resolutions voted by the house of commons.

On the 19th of March, their lordships having

been previously summoned, lord Grenville moved,<sup>BOOK</sup> that the house do agree with the resolutions of <sup>XXXI.</sup> the commons. He said that no diversity of opinion could possibly arise on the two chief preliminary points: first, that whatever steps they should take on the present occasion, the sole and exclusive rights of the Irish legislature should be duly respected, and considered upon the same footing as those of Great Britain; and secondly, that it was essential to the interest of the empire at large, that the connection between the two kingdoms should be strengthened and improved to as high a degree of perfection as the nature of the case admitted. There was, he said, however, another preliminary to the main subject, started by some who appeared generally to approve of the measure; and that was, whether, under the present state of things, it was proper at all to enter into the discussion? In answer he asked, whether it would not be wise and politic to urge, with as little delay as the case would admit of, a fair and temperate survey of the general question, in order to do away the mistaken prejudices and unfounded impressions which had prevailed against the measure in Ireland. Here his lordship took occasion to remark upon the manner in which the question stood in the parliament of Ireland. The resolution of the Irish commons certainly was not conclusive. Far from amounting

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the union  
in the  
house of  
lords.

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BOOK to any thing like a law, it was, in fact, a mere  
~~XXXI.~~ dead letter upon their journals. In such a case,  
1799. the British parliament surely ought not to be pre-  
cluded from doing what wisdom and prudence  
dictated. His lordship then entered into an elab-  
orate argument, to show the expediency and  
necessity of the measure proposed; similar in  
substance to that of Mr. Pitt in the house of  
commons. Lord Fitzwilliam objected to the  
whole proceeding, as improper, impolitic, and un-  
seasonable. Adverting to the subject of catholic  
emancipation, he acknowledged that he never  
had ORDERS, when intrusted with the government  
of Ireland, to bring that question forward: but  
he had explicitly declared that it should have his  
full support if it came under discussion. He be-  
lieved, however, in his conscience, that the events  
which occurred at that period had led to the evils  
which now existed.

The marquis of Lansdown avowed it to be his  
opinion, that it was morally impossible things  
should go on as they were now conducted. Upon  
the general utility of the measure, both in a com-  
mercial and political view, he entertained no  
doubt; but as to the mode of carrying the project  
of a union into execution, he had some hesita-  
tion. He exposed the fallacy of making the pro-  
ceedings in 1782 an objection to the present  
measure. There was no analogy in respect to

the objects in view. The adjustment of 1782 <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~XXXI.~~ <sup>1799.</sup> aimed to establish the independency of the two ~~two~~ legislatures; and as to that point, it was unquestionably designed to be final. The resolutions before them tended towards the effecting an incorporation of the same legislatures; to which the proceedings of 1782 could never have been intended to operate as a bar. He acknowledged himself somewhat startled at the idea of adding a hundred members to the British house of commons; but if others were satisfied as to this matter, he was disposed to acquiesce in it.

Lord Camden, late lord-lieutenant of Ireland, denied that the late distractions in that country arose in any manner from the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, for the kingdom was quiet for nine or ten months after that event! The present situation of Ireland was, however, such as to render it absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken for the re-establishment of public order and tranquillity; and no measure was so likely to produce a permanent and beneficial effect as that of an incorporative union.

Marquis Townshend, the earls of Westmoreland and Carlisle, and the duke of Portland, who had all occupied the highest office of government in Ireland, declared also, in explicit terms, their approbation of the measure.

On the other side, the earl of Moira rose to

BOOK XXXI. oppose the resolutions. There was no person,  
1799. he said, who would more heartily than himself  
concur in the measure, were he assured that it  
was founded on the wishes of the majority of the  
people of Ireland. But was it not manifest that  
the opposition to it was not limited to the Irish  
parliament only, but that it had been treated by  
the nation at large with an abhorrence amount-  
ing almost to a degree of phrensy? After this  
marked reprobation of the proposal, what could  
be more calculated to add fuel to the flame, than  
our persevering in it? It had been stated, in  
support of the resolutions, that Ireland could not  
go on in its present state. He had predicted  
that the system of government which had been  
pursued in that country could not go on; and  
he had unfortunately proved too true a prophet:  
that, however, was not a consequence flowing  
from the constitution of Ireland; but the result  
of a frantic exercise of severities on the part of  
government. The noble lord had expatiated on  
the benefits which a union would confer on Ire-  
land. Possibly he might be right; but the imme-  
diate question, respecting which it was necessary  
to decide, related to the expediency of bringing  
forward these resolutions. Whether justly or  
not, it appears that the opposers of them think  
the demand upon Ireland to be nothing less than  
to sacrifice the whole body of her laws, her

rights, her liberties, her independent parliament. <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~Under these circumstances, how does the mass~~ <sup>XXXI.</sup> ~~of the Irish nation weigh such a supposed demand?~~ <sup>1799.</sup> Disgusted as they have been by recent outrages, and smarting from the lash of late severities, how could it be supposed that they would meet with temper the proposition for drawing closer the ties to which they have been taught to attribute all their sufferings? In the nature of the union there was not any thing that held forth to the inhabitants of Ireland a security against the violence of the executive government; but, on the contrary, many checks upon that government would be withdrawn.

The earl of Moira was seconded in these remarks by lord Holland, who animadverted with some severity on the assertion of lord Grenville, that it was necessary to exhibit to the people of Ireland what the terms were upon which this country proposed to unite the two legislatures. Such, he said, might very naturally be the desire of his majesty's ministers; but if they had imprudently involved themselves, by bringing forward this question, that was no reason why their lordships should be implicated with them. If there existed any necessity for showing the people what the intentions of his majesty's ministers were, he thought that a report of the noble secretary's speech would be sufficient for that purpose:

**BOOK XXXI.** This, his lordship said, would be a better way of settling the business, than for the house to agree to the resolutions; which were not only in direct opposition to the adjustment of 1782, but to the recent vote of the Irish house of commons. He expressed his doubts as to the great advantages which Scotland had derived from the union with England; and remarked, that it was forty years after that event before Scotland distinguished herself as a commercial nation. The proposition of adding one hundred members to the British house of commons, his lordship deprecated as a gross invasion of the constitution; and he was surprised at the apathy with which it was received. Ireland itself was not disposed to the measure; and any attempt to affect a union by intimidation or force, would be both unjust and impolitic.

Resolu-  
tions re-  
specting  
the union  
agreed to.

After various other lords had spoken, the original motion was put, and agreed to without a division.

**Debates on the union in the lords.** On the 11th of April, the house being again summoned, lord Grenville moved an address to the throne, similar to that already voted by the commons; upon which, lord Auckland immediately rose to express his entire approbation of the measure. "There were few, indeed," his lordship said, "who could deny the necessity of some great change in the system of Irish government;"

and he did not believe that any noble lord would maintain that the union of the two kingdoms, accomplished upon grounds satisfactory to each, would not promote the tranquillity, civilisation, and prosperity of Ireland: but the consent and co-operation of Ireland were still wanting: Ireland must form her own decision, through the medium of her own parliament. The unconstitutional doctrine, which denied the competency of parliament to effect a union, and thus to operate what, by an inference falsely conceived and idly expressed, had been called its own extinction, was, he said, exploded even in the beginning of this century: it had been revived in the schools of democracy by the admirers of the sovereignty of the people. This nobleman entered into a very wide field of discussion respecting the benefits which Ireland would derive from the measure in contemplation; and concluded a long and elaborate speech with saying, "unless Providence shall have withdrawn from her all mercy and protecting influence; unless its dispensations are to be such as to number her among the wrecks of nations; she will gratefully receive our offer, and with gladness become an integral part of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

The bishop of Landaff stated to the house, that the duke of Rutland, when lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had honored him with his con-

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799:

**BOOK** fidence. In writing to the duke, about the time the Irish propositions were under discussion, 1799. he perfectly well remembered having said, " You and your friend, the minister of England, would immortalise your characters, if, instead of a mere commercial arrangement, you could accomplish, by honorable means, a legislative union between the two kingdoms." If he were to express his sentiments of the utility of a union in a few words, he should say, that it would enrich Ireland without impoverishing Great Britain ; and that it would render the empire, as to defence, the strongest in Europe. The present bond of connexion between the two kingdoms was that of their having the same king ; the proposed bond was that of their having the same legislature. How slight the former bond was, in comparison of the latter, had been fully shown. His lordship foresaw, as he declared, with great satisfaction, the time, should the union take place, when the whole state of Ireland should be changed : it would convert her wastes into corn-fields ; it would cover her mountains with forests ; and, in a word, it would render her people industrious, enlightened, and happy. But by far the most argumentative, as well as eloquent, speech delivered on this occasion, was that of lord Minto, late sir Gilbert Elliot ; which justly commanded very great attention both from the house and the

Able  
speech of  
lord Minto.

public. "If," said this enlightened speaker, <sup>BOOK</sup>  
<sup>XXXI.</sup> "two countries, united under one executive go-<sup>1799.</sup>vernment, but subject to different legislatures,  
should be unequal in power and influence, the in-  
ferior state would retain merely a nominal inde-  
pendence, which would be attended with an irk-  
some consciousness of real subordination. This  
contrariety of the real to the nominal condition  
of the country would be a perpetual source of  
evil, from its constant tendency to the produc-  
tion of an acrimonious jealousy. An angry, im-  
patient, and intolerant love of independency  
would be generated. Each victory would lead  
to a new claim; and the career of independence  
would be urged forward, by patriots or dema-  
gogues, to the true goal of that course, namely,  
separation. From the calamities in which such  
an event might involve both countries, the only  
sure refuge and sanctuary would be found in an  
incorporation. Wales, subdued by the first Ed-  
ward, was for centuries connected with England  
by an imperfect political tie; the two nations  
being governed by the same sovereign, but en-  
joying only a partial conformity of laws and in-  
stitutions. This connexion was attended with  
the prevalence of mutual outrage and petty war-  
fare, till Henry VIII. administered the only per-  
fect remedy for such disorders, by effecting a  
legislative union. With Scotland, the English

BOOK attempted to enforce connexion by conquest:  
XXXI. but their efforts were unsuccessful; and the violence of contest continued till the accession of James I. Then commenced a century of partial relation, disturbed by jealousy and disgust, which brought the two countries to the alternative of separation or union. With respect to Ireland, exclusive of general motives, there existed certain peculiar and remarkable circumstances, relating to her internal and political condition, which seemed strongly to invite that nation to a union, for the purposes of equal government, and of civil and municipal happiness. Ireland is a divided country; but unequally divided, as to property and numbers--the least numerous class possessing the property and the power; but the most numerous entertaining, and indeed cherishing, fondly and tenaciously, claims on both. I need not detain your lordships by describing the extent or the violence of those passions which inflame and exasperate both parts of the Irish nation against each other. Every one knows the firm and immovable basis on which their mutual hatred stands; the irreconcilable nature of its motives; its bitter, malignant, and implacable character. It is hardly too much to say, that there are two nations in Ireland--the one sovereign, the other subject. The sovereign class or cast of Irishmen claim their sovereignty as of

right; and ground it on an old title of conquest. <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~XXXI.~~ They claim also the federal support of Great <sup>1799.</sup> Britain in maintaining this dominion. They show a close alliance and identity of views between themselves and the English interest in Ireland: they call at once upon our honor and our gratitude, by an appeal to facts which we cannot controvert. I have always felt this point as constituting a true and proper *dilemma*; for I cannot admit the ascendancy of one part of a nation over another and greater part, to the extent and to the purpose claimed in Ireland, as capable of assuming any character deserving the denomination of right. That which is a wrong on one side, cannot, intelligibly to me, become a right on the other. Wrong is not a material out of which it is possible to construct right. But, in truth, nothing can be less rational, or more dangerous, than these abstract views of practical questions affecting the interests of multitudes or nations. In the blind pursuit of abstract right we shall often find ourselves the instruments of great practical injustice and oppression. We cannot be ignorant that the first application of those rights with which we should be disposed to vest the Irish catholics, is likely to be the perpetration of a great wrong. They foster extensive claims on the *property* of protestants; the present possession of which they treat as mere usurpa-

~~BOOK~~ <sup>XXXI.</sup> ~~tion.~~ We know the aspiring character of their church; or, if you please, of all churches; and, 1799. indeed, of all *bodies* and *descriptions* of men collectively considered. We must, above all, recollect, that the catholics, besides their claims civil or religious, have passions to gratify—passions long irritated, long restrained, but not on that account less vehement or dangerous. I am not more clear in thinking the catholics entitled to a fair participation of the civil and political franchises of Irishmen, than I am in feeling that the protestants ought to be protected and defended in the security of their property, their religion, and their persons, against every violence which the catholics might be disposed to attempt, when they have passed from their present state of subjection to that of authority and power. The dilemma, therefore, has hitherto consisted in this: the protestants could not be supported in that ascendancy which seems necessary even for their protection, without derogating from what may appear to be a natural right of the catholics: the catholics could not be supported in their claim of equality, without transferring to them that ascendancy which equality of privileges must draw to the larger body; and which, from that moment, must expose the protestants to dangers from which they ought to be protected. Such seem to be the practical difficulties in the

way of abstract justice while the government of Ireland continues merely local. An Irish parliament, in which the ascendancy is either protestant or catholic, and it cannot but lie on one side or the other, may be expected still, I fear, to gore and lacerate the country by one or other of the horns of this dilemma: and I see no perfect remedy for Irish division, and its lamentable consequences, while these two enraged and implacable opponents are still shut up together, are still enclosed, within the very theatre, on the very *arena*, of their ancient and furious contention. This divided and double condition of the Irish people requires a legislature founded on a broader and more liberal basis; an imperial *aula*, to administer impartial laws to all, and to reconcile security with justice. I am persuaded, that laws beneficial to the mass of the people of Ireland, and promoting its general prosperity and happiness, may be expected with greater confidence from the united parliament, in which local partialities, interests, and passions, will not divert the straight and equal current of legislation, than in an Irish parliament, where these stumbling-blocks must for ever bend or impede its course."

Proceeding to the discussion of the various objections which had been urged against the measure of an incorporative union, lord Minto took special notice of that which appeared to have

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799.

BOOK XXXI. been “the most operative and successful throughout Ireland, and to have had the greatest share  
1799. in the rejection of this salutary proposal; namely, the notion that a legislative union, however beneficial it might be to Ireland, would derogate from the honor and national independence of that country.” This he styled “an airy unsubstantial sentiment; a transient, evanescent, metaphysical point, to which we were called upon to sacrifice the permanent and perpetual interests of two great nations.”—“I confess,” said this intelligent nobleman, “I cannot persuade myself to rank a sentiment so subtle, and subject to many refined and delicate modifications, with that sound and genuine affection which has deserved, by excellence, the dignified appellation of patriotism. True patriotism will be found to rest on the solid basis of some rational and useful principle, which will keep it uniform and uninfluenced by time or circumstance, and which may serve as a criterion to distinguish its own genuine and steady course from the capricious and irregular motions of some of its many counterfeits. The love of our country may be rational or fantastical, as that of any other object; but when founded in utility only can it challenge its descent from heaven. If this love be well regulated, and all its modes and affections in due subordination, he who is influenced by it will

prefer the real and solid happiness of his country <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~XXXI.~~

To this chaste and disciplined patriotism would ~~XXXI.~~ <sup>1799.</sup>

I appeal, against the noisy and clamorous pretence which would usurp its seal, and bear away the decision by acclamation and tumult."

Considering, however, the question in a different point of view, and as it related merely to the supposed loss of dignity consequent upon a union, his lordship observed, "that Ireland, as a separate kingdom, still remained, in some particulars, dependent, subordinate, inferior. As the connexion actually subsisting between the two countries required an uniformity of counsels in affairs of imperial concern, for the acquiescence of Ireland on these occasions the nature and frame of that connexion had provided divers securities. The king of Great Britain was, in virtue of the imperial prerogative annexed to that crown, king also of Ireland; and the whole executive government of the latter realm was administered by a viceroy, who was appointed, in effect, by a British minister, and responsible only to the British tribunals. To these instances of subordination it might be added, that the legislative functions of the sovereign of Ireland could be performed only under the great seal of Britain. By a union, on the other hand, Ireland, no longer subordinate, would participate in all the rights of

BOOK sovereignty; and, though she would forego her  
XXXI. individuality, she would preserve her existence in  
1799. full vigor, and be identified with a larger whole."

His lordship, lastly, adverted to the objection which imputed to the two parliaments an incompetency for the adoption of the plan proposed; and in strong, but not unguarded or intemperate, language, asserted the amplitude and extent of parliamentary supremacy. "If a measure be expedient," said this noble orator, "why may it *not* be executed by parliament? or, if parliament be not competent, where shall we find a more adequate authority? The general rule and law of the constitution establishes the universal authority of the legislature, and defines it by no limits or qualification that I am acquainted with. Whatever the whole nation could do, if there were no parliament, is within the regular and fundamental powers of parliament. It may be said, that powers, unlimited in theory, are yet finite in practice; and that, in its exercise, the most unbounded authority is still circumscribed, at least within the moral boundaries of right and wrong. I assent to this restriction, and even assert it: but who must judge the fallibility of parliament; and to whom must its questionable acts be submitted? Where are the men to be found, or in what forms or combinations assembled, to whom such a superlative authority could

with safety be confided? The whole efficacy of <sup>BOOK</sup>  
<sup>XXXI</sup> our constitution, towards effecting its great and <sup>1799.</sup> beneficial purposes, resides in this single principle of the unlimited, unqualified supremacy of parliament. There is no appeal acknowledged in the constitution from that authority, because no appellate tribunal can be imagined *habile* to such a jurisdiction. Parliament itself, affording the most commodious and perfect organ of law and government, cannot be superseded by the people at large; whose inability and unaptness to exercise the powers of government have given occasion to the institution thus to be superseded. But the abuse and perversion of this authority may be forcibly resisted!" This he termed, "one of those *mysteries*, the acknowledgement of which is much connected with its recluse sanctity, and its being withheld from daily and vulgar contemplation, to be reserved only for the great occasions which are worthy to draw it forth. It ought not to be too closely or curiously examined. Stated theoretically, it was always a snare: when a practical instance should arise, it would answer for itself. Every case of this kind must stand, as it were, upon its own individual responsibility; and must be such as to provide for itself, without the aid of any antecedent principle to lean upon. Such cases must look for no support from law, being all in direct con-

BOOK XXXI. tradition to the particular constitution of our  
own, as well as to the general principle of all,  
1799. government. There is an established organ of  
the general will, qualified, by its frame and con-  
stitution, to apply the collective wisdom of the  
nation to its collective interests, and to admini-  
ster the sovereign power of the state on this  
secure and solid foundation. The sovereignty of  
parliament, thus explained, is neither more nor  
less than the sovereignty of the people itself. It is  
identically and precisely the same with it; appear-  
ing in the only visible, tangible, or perceptible form  
in which it can be recognised in this country\*.”

\* This speech of lord Minto is of high and unquestionable excellence. It discovers the most liberal and comprehensive views of the subject on which it treats; and all the practical conclusions are accurate and just. In one respect only it appears to admit of animadversion. His lordship seems to allow the *dilemma* which he suggests, to be, in a theoretical view, absolutely insuperable: thus affording a great and dangerous advantage to the abstract reasoners on politics, who will, doubtless, be proud to boast, that their speculative arguments admit of no refutation; and to bring them forward, on all occasions, as nothing less than demonstrations. But, agreeably to that only intelligible theory, which finds the principles of morals on the basis of utility, there is no axiom of civil or political morality, not even *justice* itself, which is not capable of suspension, if the exercise of it can, in any instance, be proved to be really pernicious to the general interests of society. Such was the nature of the protestant ascendency, so long established in Ireland; which, though in its

The question was at length put upon the address, and carried without a division; but a protest, very ably drawn, was signed on this occasion by the lords Holland, Thanet, and King.

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abstract nature *unjust*, admitted of a complete practical justification from the causes so ably stated by lord Minto. The real practical injustice was in refusing to the catholics a participation of those privileges with which they might have been safely invested; in inflicting upon them positive penalties; and subjecting them to arbitrary and tyrannical restraints. Also, in speaking of the nature and extent of the sovereign power, lord Minto improperly treats it as partaking of the *mystical*. It is something too deep, and too sacred, to be inquired into. But there is no reason whatever to represent government, like the Fame of Virgil, as standing with its feet upon the earth, and its head enveloped in the clouds. Obedience to government, like all other great moral duties, is founded on the basis of utility; and it is, like the rest, capable of suspension, when it evidently counteracts the end and object for which it was designed,—the welfare of the community at large. But this is a case which no constitution or frame of government can pre-suppose: therefore, in a general or legal sense, the sovereign authority has no limits. It is all-powerful to do good; and to do evil, is incompatible with its end and essence. The popular maxims of government, consequently, which refer all to the people, are true in a certain sense; and it is infinitely better to explain that sense, and to show how totally inconsistent it is with the spirit of licentiousness and anarchy, than to oppose, to the fury of wild democracy, the shield, or rather the veil, of mysticism, which will be easily and instantly torn asunder. Nothing can, on the one hand, be more explicit, than the famous declaration of Blackstone, respecting those ultimate but dormant rights which

**BOOK XXXI.** A committee was then named, consisting of lord Grenville, lord Auckland, the bishop of Llandaff, and lord Minto, to draw up an address conformable to the motion; which being effected, the commons, in a second conference (April 12), were invited to join in the same, and to agree that it should be presented to his majesty as the address of both houses of parliament; which was accordingly done in the most solemn manner: and thus the business rested for the remainder of the present year.

**Motion of Mr. Wilberforce on the slave-trade.** In the course of the session, the subject of the slave-trade was (March 1st) again agitated, and upon somewhat novel ground. Mr. Wilberforce observed, that it was now eleven years since he had first held out this system of wickedness and cruelty to the indignant reprobation of that house. He was for a time cheered under his labors by the hope of ultimate success; but he now almost despaired of seeing the abolition

necessarily inhere in the community, and which, in extreme circumstances, may be, and have been, called into action: nor, on the other hand, can any general assertion of the rights of the people be expressed in a mode more respectful to government, or more carefully guarded against misconstruction. And this is surely a far more eligible mode of defence, even in relation to government itself, its interest, and its honor, than to take shelter in the regions of incomprehensibility; as lord Minto has done, in language almost literally copied from Mr. Burke.

effected by a British parliament: and with respect to the colonial legislatures, it was the vainest of expectations that they would enforce any system of reform which might render the further importation of slaves unnecessary. The assembly of Jamaica had, indeed, spoken out, and put the point at issue out of controversy. For his part, he respected them for so doing: they had acted more honorably, in declaring their determination never to assist in abolishing the slave-trade, than if they had disguised their sentiments, to appear to co-operate with the house of commons. In the conclusion of their address to his majesty they declared, that, in the legislative measures which they should introduce for the benefit of their slaves, they were actuated by motives of humanity only, and not by any view to the termination of the slave-trade. “The right of obtaining *laborers* from Africa,” for such was the softening phrase by which they were willing to conceal the evils which they resolved to perpetuate, “is secured to your majesty’s subjects in this colony by several British acts of parliament, and several proclamations of your majesty’s royal ancestors. They, or their predecessors, have emigrated, and settled in Jamaica, under the most solemn promises of this assistance; and they can never give up, or do any act that may render this essential right doubtful.” As to posi-

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BOOK tive regulations, Mr. Wilberforce observed, that  
XXXI. the legal code of the Spaniards had long and  
1799. justly been celebrated for its mildness and bene-  
fiscence: but had it rendered the slave-trade unnec-  
essary? Laws of this kind could not alter the  
state of society, and the moral order of things.  
We were engaged in a war with a nation which  
had cast off all regard for those sacred principles  
which almost all men professed to venerate: yet  
France had abolished the slave-trade; while we,  
contrary to our own acknowledgements of the  
nefariousness of this traffic, still continued to  
support and encourage it. In Africa, we were  
only known as corrupters and destroyers; and,  
if there existed an over-ruling Providence, it  
might surely be expected that the moral govern-  
ment of the universe would in some mode be  
signally vindicated. For himself, he had per-  
formed his duty: he solemnly protested against  
the consequences which should ensue from this  
obstinate and daring perseverance in guilt; and  
he washed his hands of the blood which might  
be shed both in the eastern and the western  
world.

A committee being then moved for, in order  
to take the state of the slave-trade into consid-  
eration, a very long debate ensued; in the course  
of which Mr. Dundas took upon him to affirm,  
that the abolition of the slave-trade *could not be*

effected without the consent and concurrence of <sup>BOOK</sup> the colonies themselves. We did not possess the <sup>XXXI.</sup> physical means of rendering the resolution efficient. The trade would still be carried on, and the supply would be attained, with this difference, that it was now conducted under the control and regulation of the house; whereas, then it would be carried on by other nations, free from all the salutary and humane regulations enforced by the parliament of this country.

Mr. Windham observed, that people fond of abstract rights were apt to make very important mistakes. Sudden and violent remedies often created greater mischief than that which they were intended to rectify. It was not difficult to show the absurdity of this system of reversing the cause of an evil, by way of cure. Thus, for instance, if a man were thrown out of a high window, and fractured a limb, it would be but an indifferent mode of cure to throw him up again. In the present case, it was his opinion not to attempt a direct reversal of the system, though bad, but to refer the amelioration of the condition of the slaves to the colonial assemblies, as the wiser course of policy.

Mr. Pitt made, as on former occasions, a most eloquent speech in favor of the immediate abolition; for which he said the honor of the British name stood pledged. The slave-trade was a traf-

~~BOOK~~ ~~XXXI.~~ ~~fic declared, by that house, to be against justice,~~  
~~against humanity, against religion, and every~~  
1799. ~~social compact. It had been, and still was, car-~~  
~~ried on under our laws, by our subjects, from our~~  
~~ports, with our capital; and shall it be asserted,~~  
~~that it is impossible for us to abolish it effectually~~  
~~without the consent of the colonial assemblies?~~  
~~Were we to ask the advice, and wait for the con-~~  
~~sent, of these assemblies, before we dared to dis-~~  
~~continue the practice of tearing those helpless~~  
~~victims of misery from their families and native~~  
~~land? It had been observed, that the reverse of~~  
~~wrong was not always right: but how did this~~  
~~maxim apply to the present case? Was it pro-~~  
~~posed to send the negroes back to Africa? to~~  
~~throw any of those wretches who had their bones~~  
~~fractured, or their limbs dislocated, by their fall~~  
~~from a great height, up again? No: it was~~  
~~merely desired that no more should be thrown~~  
~~out of the window. The right honorable gen-~~  
~~tleman thought, as the custom had so long con-~~  
~~tinued, it would be unwise to act precipitately.~~  
~~On this point he differed essentially: positive~~  
~~evil could not be too soon remedied; a system of~~  
~~horror too soon abolished: it was a murderous~~  
~~traffic; and the safety of our dominions also de-~~  
~~pended upon the improvement of the condition~~  
~~of the negroes. He hoped the house would~~  
~~agree at once to the measure proposed; or, if~~

they would not do so, declare expressly and specifically for what purpose the trade was to be continued. He said, that the boundary should be marked for the cultivation of the land: that new land should not be cultivated by the labor of imported negroes; for if this were to be allowed, there was no conjecturing where it would end: that the notion which some people entertained, of their *right* to cultivate all the lands held in grants from the crown, was a great error. He would no more allow the cultivation of fresh lands, by the labor of newly imported negroes, than he should assent to any new colony being established upon the same system on any newly-discovered territory. They were both equally repugnant to the spirit of the resolutions of the house, and to the terms on which even the planters pretended they had a right to the importation of negroes.

On dividing the house, 54 members only voted for, and 84 against, the appointment of the committee proposed by Mr. Wilberforce. Mr. Wilberforce's motion negatived.

On the 12th of March, Mr. Dundas made his annual statement of India accounts. The result was, that the debts of the company had increased, during the current year, from 5,590,000*l.* to 7,479,000*l.*; and the consequent increase of interest, payable annually, amounted, at 8 per cent., to 157,430*l.* The assets of the company had, during the same period, according to the

BOOK same statement, increased from 8,958,000*l.* to  
XXXI. 10,531,000*l.*, *i.e.* about 1,573,000*l.*; so that

1799. the company was a loser, upon the balance, to the amount of 575,000*l.* But the increase of the debt bearing interest, was unfortunately a fact much more clearly made out than the increase of the assets; and, unless supported by the strong arm of government, the affairs of the company were evidently in a very precarious and alarming state.

There was a disputed article of one million due to the nabob of Arcot. The East-India company had been trustees for the payment of certain debts, of an extraordinary nature, from the nabob to certain individuals connected with the company; and the sum in question had been sequestered out of the nabob's revenues. But the debts themselves being subsequently annihilated by act of parliament, the nabob, of course, demanded the deposit: but the company said, "No; it has been expended for the purpose of the war: you can have, therefore, no claim upon us for its restitution; or, at best, it is but a loan." But this counter-claim of the company not being, *as yet*, fully established, Mr. Dundas acknowledged the propriety of regarding it, in the present statement of accounts, as a debt due to the nabob.

Towards the close of the session, a measure, most

odious in its nature, of which the first mover and chief advocate was lord Grenville, passed through both houses with surprising facility. This was a bill rendering perpetual those horrid penalties for the crime of treason which, by the operation of an act passed at a crisis of alarm and expected rebellion, were, not without strong opposition, extended to the death of the sons of the late Pretender; the last of whom, cardinal York, was now become very aged and infirm. A protest was, however, entered, by the lords Ponsonby and Holland, against this bill; which, though drawn in concise terms, exposed in a just and striking manner the barbarity and iniquity of the principle on which it was founded. But it was now the fashion to stigmatise all advances in humanity and civilisation, or improvements in jurisprudence, as dangerous and democratic innovations; and to extol, on all occasions, the provident sagacity of our ancestors; as if, in the opinion of these declaimers, all wisdom had died with their fathers, and nothing but folly remained to themselves.

The protesting peers declare their dissent from the measure,

*First,* Because the statute which it was by this bill proposed to make perpetual, appeared to them unjust and impolitic, and contrary to the mild spirit of the laws of England. Unjust, be-

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Treason-  
forfeiture  
bill—

protested  
against.

BOOK cause it reduces to poverty and ruin children for  
XXXI. the crimes of their ancestors: impolitic, because,  
1799. instead of healing the divisions and animosities  
occasioned by civil war, it tends to make them  
continue. It appeared, moreover, contrary to  
the express declaration of MAGNA CHARTA, which  
says, that no person shall be disinherited, or de-  
prived of his franchises, unless he be heard in his  
defence; for in this case we disinherit persons  
who cannot be heard, and who have committed  
no crime.

*Secondly*, Because it does not appear that any  
urgent necessity calls for the immediate adoption  
of this law, at this late period of the session, when  
it cannot receive the due consideration which a  
question of this sort deserves, and when the at-  
tendance is so thin in this house.

*Thirdly*, Because we have the satisfaction of  
thinking, that it is not necessary for the preser-  
vation of his majesty, whose throne cannot be  
more secure by severe penal statutes. We,  
therefore, will not agree to destroy that hope,  
which sir William Blackstone exultingly says  
our posterity may entertain, "that corruption  
in blood may one day be abolished and for-  
gotten."

The parliament was prorogued on the 12th of  
July (1799): upon which occasion his majesty was  
pleased to declare, "that the decision and energy

which distinguished the councils of his ally the emperor of Russia, and the intimate union and concert so happily established between them, would enable him to employ, to the greatest advantage, the powerful means entrusted to him by parliament, for establishing, on permanent grounds, the security and honor of this country, and the liberty and independence of Europe."

On the 22d of January (1799), the very day on which the message on the union was delivered to the two British houses of parliament, the session of the Irish parliament commenced at Dublin; and a speech was on this occasion made by the lord-lieutenant, which concluded with the following analogous declaration: "The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion, essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire."

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Vehement  
debates on  
the address.

Irish house  
of peers fa-  
vorable to  
the union.

The address brought forward in the house of peers was opposed chiefly by the lords Powerscourt and Bellamont; who severally moved amendments, expressive of their disapprobation of a legislative union with Great Britain. On the first division, the numbers were 46 to 19, and on the last, 35 to 17, in favor of the court. But it was in the house of commons that the grand battle was expected to be fought.

No sooner had the address of thanks been moved in that assembly, than sir John Parnell, who had long filled, with high reputation, the office of chancellor of the exchequer, from which he had been recently dismissed, rose to reprobate the project of a union while yet *in embryo*. As far as he could judge of the scheme, from what he already knew of it, he believed it to be adverse to the permanent interest of Ireland, and inconsistent with the rights of the people--rights, which, having been delegated to the care of parliament, ought not to be surrendered by a representative body. It would affect the constitution, the trade, and the property, of the country. The constitution would be no more, when the legislature of Ireland was merged in that of Great Britain, and the concerns of the former country were to be entrusted to the care of men who would not be its representatives; who would have different interests, and would be too pre-

Judiced, and too remote, to conduct its affairs <sup>BOOK</sup> <sup>XXXI.</sup> with justice or propriety. What would an Englishman say, if Ireland should propose to him the suppression of one half of the number of representatives of his country, and the substitution of Irishmen for them? Would he be satisfied with an assurance, that England would be as well represented by Irish as by English members? Yet even this would be a much fairer proposal than that which was now made to Ireland. By occasioning the absence of a great number of the nobility and gentry, it would diminish, in a serious degree, both the capital and the consumption of the country. It would lay a foundation for permanent discontent, which would increase with the increasing evils the people of Ireland would experience from this measure. A similar proposition had, indeed, been acceded to by Scotland: But that country, a century ago, was in circumstances very different from those in which Ireland now stood. Scotland could not reject the proposal, without exposing herself to a contest which might have terminated in her ruin. A union between the British nations was necessary, to secure the two crowns to the same sovereign; but no such hazard existed in the present instance, for the crown of Ireland was annexed to that of Britain by indissoluble ties: That a union would secure the country against

BOOK external attack he denied; for a foreign enemy  
XXXI. would not be deterred from invasion by an act of  
1799. parliament. He exhorted the house to disprove  
the popular charge of corrupt influence, by a  
unanimous rejection of the present proposal;  
and he concluded with the old and famous decla-  
ration, substituting Ireland for England, “*No-  
lumus leges HIBERNIÆ mutari.*”

Mr. George Ponsonby, brother to the earl of Besborough, a barrister of high reputation and distinguished talents, opposed, in strong terms, every idea of a legislative union, as a scheme that would injure the prosperity and destroy the liberties of Ireland. He even denied the competency of the legislature to the adoption of a measure invasive of the rights of the people and subversive of the constitution of the country. But, if parliament had an undoubted authority to exercise such power, it would, he contended, be the height of folly to make such a sacrifice to the pride of Britain. What influence would a hundred Irish members have, absorbed in an assembly of 558 British members? They must be mere ciphers in the united legislature, and would be constrained, on every occasion, to submit to the dictates of a haughty and powerful majority. For six centuries, he affirmed, the Irish nation had been precluded, by a series of oppres-  
sions, from the enjoyment of those advantages

with which nature had blessed them; and he de-  
precated the subjection of his country to the  
sway of a British parliament; declaring his fer-  
vent wishes for the preservation of that legis-  
lative independence, which was the best foun-  
dation of the national happiness. Mr. Ponsonby  
also indignantly condemned the means that had  
been used for the promotion of this pernicious  
end; alluding to the dismission of sir John Par-  
nel, as an example calculated to deter every  
possessor of office from a conscientious disclosure  
of his opinion, if it should happen to be adverse  
to the views of the court. He concluded with  
moving, as an amendment to the address, "that  
the house should declare its resolution of main-  
taining the right of the people of Ireland to  
a resident and independent legislature, as recog-  
nised by the British parliament in 1782, and  
finally settled at the adjustment of all differences  
between the two kingdoms."

Mr. Conolly, who was generally considered, in  
point of property and influence, as the first com-  
moner in Ireland, avowed his sentiments to be  
decidedly in favor of the measure of a union.  
He compared the absurdity of two independent  
legislatures in one empire, to the unnatural phæ-  
nomenon of two heads on one pair of shoulders.  
Many of the evils of Ireland, he was convinced,  
had arisen from this source. Yet an hundred

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BOOK and sixteen placemen and pensioners, who had  
XXXI. been known at one time to occupy seats in that  
1799. house, showed how little of the real spirit of inde-  
pendence existed amongst them.

The secretary of state, lord Castlereagh, re-  
marked, that an acquiescence in the address did  
not involve an approbation of legislative union.  
It only promised, that the house would deliberate  
on the best means of improving the connexion  
between the two kingdoms, and augmenting the  
energy of the empire. That these desirable ends  
would be most effectually secured by an incor-  
poration of the realms, he was fully persuaded;  
but the members who might vote for the address,  
would not be bound to give their sanction to that  
opinion. To tranquillise and improve Ireland,  
and consolidate the strength and glory of the  
empire, were the real aim of the projectors of the  
measure in contemplation: and they surely de-  
served to be hailed by public gratitude, rather  
than attacked by malice and calumny. The mi-  
series of the country were indisputably great; and,  
for want of a speedy remedy, might lead to na-  
tional ruin. Its state and government exhibited  
no fixed principles on which the human mind  
could rest; no one standard to which its different  
prejudices might be accommodated. By an in-  
corporation with Britain, a common interest  
would be established; and the welfare of one

country would be that of the other. Religious dissensions would be allayed; jealousy and prejudice would subside; trade would greatly flourish; a respectable class of men, between the landlord and mere peasant, would arise; and the morals of the lowest order of inhabitants be improved. The increase of the number of absentees, and other incidental inconveniences, would be of very trifling import, compared with the safety and prosperity that would result from the measure. He did not expect to hear, from constitutional lawyers, the allegation of parliamentary incompetence. It was clear to him, that a legislative body was at all times competent to the adoption of the most effectual means of promoting the general welfare: For that purpose the parliament was instituted; and, as a union was calculated for such an object without violating the principles of the constitution, the denial of competency might justly be exploded.

Mr. Corry, who had succeeded sir John Parnell in the office of chancellor of the exchequer, confirmed the assertion of the secretary of state, that no member would be considered as pledged by the address. The *idea* of a legislative union was honestly avowed, but every one would remain at full liberty to oppose it. He panegyrised the British constitution, and expatiated on the advantages of that consolidation which would

BOOK admit Ireland to the participation of all its  
XXXI. blessings.

1799. This great and memorable debate lasted no less than twenty hours; and, in the course of it, a very large proportion of the members delivered their sentiments. The contest was so close, that only a majority of ONE appeared against the amendment;—the numbers being, on the division, 106 and 105; and, when the question was put for agreeing to the address, the ministry had in their favor 107 against 105 voices. During the latter period of the debate, which continued till noon on the second day, the avenues to the house were crowded with people anxious to hear the result; which, when known, was hailed as a victory on the part of the anti-unionists, and the metropolis resounded with acclamations. The leaders of the opposition, elevated with hope, prepared for another conflict, which they did not doubt would give them a decided superiority.

The address was reported two days afterwards (January 24); when sir Laurence Parsons rose, and with much force of eloquence opposed its being received. He had hoped, he said, that the opinions lately expressed in that house would have occasioned a dereliction of the proposal; but, as the ministry resolved to persist in it, he was glad that such pertinacity afforded an opportunity to those gentlemen who had supported the

measure on a former night to retrieve their characters from the disgrace which they must have incurred by a conduct so hostile to the honor and liberties of their country. The proposal, he said, arose from a wish, on the part of England, to recover that dominion over the Irish which she had lost in 1782. Two considerations ought to regulate the adoption of any public measure; one was, whether it was intrinsically good; the other, whether it agreed with the temper and disposition of the people. Were these principles included in the present measure? Even if it were a good scheme, it would be impolitic to press it in opposition to the general will; and, if it were bad, the consequences of persistence in it might be dreadful. "But," exclaimed this ardent speaker, "it cannot be carried into effect; for every gentleman in Ireland will sooner part with his life, than give up the independence of his country. Let, then, this scandalous and irritating measure be relinquished; and let the country, panting from its recent struggles and its present alarms, repose at last in tranquillity!"

Lord Castlereagh, in reply, allowed that ministers did not intend to relinquish the measure, while they had any hope of success. If they should, they would be unworthy of the situations which they filled; and might be accused of a disregard to the interests of their country and the

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BOOK empire. The parliament, he hoped, would have  
XXXI. too just a sense of its own character, to dismiss a  
1799. question of such importance, without a sober and deliberate discussion. The measure ought not to be sacrificed to the clamors of faction. It was, perhaps, the first virtue of ministers, to maintain a dignified firmness against faction. The dismission of those who were unfriendly to a union, could not justly be condemned. It was a part of the king's prerogative, to determine who should be his servants; and as to himself no obloquy or calumny should deter him from the prosecution of a beneficial scheme.

Mr. John Beresford, the leader of a great and dominant party in the kingdom, professed his desire of a union, as thinking it the best remedy for the miserable condition to which Ireland was reduced by the perpetual conflict of contending interests. Sir John Parnell pronounced it degrading to the dignity of parliament, to entertain a question, whether it should put an end to its own existence. He animadverted on the absurdity of pretending, as some had done, that it was inconsistent or presumptuous to declare against a union, without knowing the terms, or understanding the true nature of the question. Could any man be ignorant, that the question was, whether the parliament of Ireland and the independence of the nation should be given up for ever? As the

ministers would not bind themselves by a promise to preserve these great objects, the parliament, he hoped, would determine the point, by voting that it would never surrender the legislative independence of the realm.

After a violent debate, scarcely inferior in length or asperity to the former, a division took place, when the motion of sir Laurence Parsons, for the omission of the obnoxious clause in the address, prevailed, by a majority of 111 to 106 voices.

The exultation of the metropolis rose to a great height on this defeat of the ministry. The unionists were insulted and calumniated by every possible mode of inventive malignity. On the other hand, the chief speakers of opposition acquired a sudden and extraordinary increase of popularity. Their eloquence was extolled with hyperbolic praise, and their patriotism applauded in high-flown terms of admiration and gratitude. Attentive and calm observers nevertheless remarked, that the vehement enthusiasm of the capital did not extend to the nation at large. It was apparent, that the weight of the landed interest was in favor of the measure; that Cork, the second city of the kingdom, and the commercial towns in general, though greatly agitated and divided, were, upon the whole, rather friendly than hostile to it; that government had secured

**B O O K** the chief political interests of the country, which,  
**XXXI.** added to the powerful means of influence, corrupt  
or constitutional, possessed by the crown, gave  
a mighty and apparently irresistible force to its  
operations. But, above all, it was perceivable  
that the great mass of the Irish nation, consisting  
of the Roman-catholics—sunk into apathy, and  
almost into despair—made no effort in opposition  
to the measure. They were fully sensible that  
their condition could scarcely be made worse;  
there was a possibility that it might be made  
better by a union; and far from feeling, in their  
present circumstances, those emotions of national  
pride which the extinction of Irish independency  
was calculated so severely to wound, they rather  
saw, with a sensation of pleasure, the chagrin and  
humiliation of their most inveterate adversaries,  
those petty protestant tyrants, who arrogated to  
themselves the title of THE NATION, to the ex-  
clusion of three-fourths of the community. Upon  
the whole, it must be acknowledged that the sen-  
timents of a great majority of persons of weight  
and influence, who acted with government on this  
occasion, were powerfully biassed in favor of the  
measure by the indelible impression of recent  
events; and it may be inferred, from the for-  
midable efforts actually made by the opponents  
of this project in parliament, that the whole in-  
fluence of government, vast and unbounded as it

**1799.**  
The minis-  
try gain  
ground in  
parlia-  
ment.

may seem, would in ordinary circumstances have been found wholly unequal to the accomplishment of so daring and difficult a measure.

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799.

A large proportion of counties, cities, and towns, throughout the kingdom, sent up addresses expressive of their detestation of the design of a legislative union. The counter-addresses and resolutions passed in favor of the project were much inferior in number; but this was easily accounted for, even supposing the unionists to be equal or superior in this respect to the opposers of the measure. For that enthusiasm which prompts to active and vigorous exertion was entirely with the anti-unionists; while the friends of the union, unless influenced by motives foreign to the merits of the project, contented themselves, for the most part, with a calm and noiseless approbation.

The county of Galway distinguished itself however, among a few others, by a strong contest, when the resolutions condemnatory of the union were proposed: and the archbishop of Tuam, metropolitan of Connaught, supported by very many respectable gentlemen of the county, protested against them. In the town of Galway, also, an address was voted in favor of an incorporative union. "In the constitution of the empire," say these addressers, "as it at present stands, we discover the seeds of party animosity and national jealousy--a protestant parliament,

BOOK and a catholic people! Hence religious dissension and civil discord.—Two legislatures in the same empire! Hence local prejudices and commercial rivalry! For this radical defect in the polity of the empire, we can see but one remedy, and that remedy is an union."

Lord Corry's motion rejected. On the 15th of February, lord Corry, son of the earl of Belmore, moved "That the house of commons should resolve itself into a general committee on the state of the nation, and consider of an address to the king, declaring an inviolable attachment to British connexion; and representing a separate independent parliament, as essential to the interest and prosperity of Ireland." This was opposed by lord Castlereagh, as wholly superfluous; it not being the intention of the ministry to press the measure of union at a time of public irritation. Mr. Ponsonby ably supported the motion, and with great spirit repelled the insinuation, that sinister artifices had been employed, to delude the country gentlemen into a factious opposition to the measure. He was, however, well pleased at the firmness with which many of them had expressed their opinions; and he had no doubt that, with good sense and patriotism only for their guides, they would escape the *Pitt-falls* with which the ways of parliament were overspread. On the division, 103 gave their suffrages for the motion, against 123

who opposed it; and it was evident that the <sup>BOOK</sup> court-party were gradually gaining strength. <sup>XXXI.</sup>

As one of the chief arguments in favor of a legislative union was founded on the danger of <sup>1799.</sup> <sup>Mr. Pon-</sup> <sup>sonby's</sup> <sup>motion re-</sup> <sup>jected..</sup> an eventual division of the executive power, which had in fact appeared extremely probable ten years since upon the proceedings respecting the regency, a bill was brought forward early in the month of April, by Mr. Ponsonby, to preclude future difference between the parliaments of the two realms in the appointment of a regent. This was opposed by lord Castlereagh, as a delusive measure, which, while it pretended to obviate the effect, left the cause of the evil untouched; and would not prevent the disagreement of two independent legislatures, by one or other of whose opinions the regent must necessarily be influenced.

Mr. Foster, the speaker of the house, a man of great knowledge, talents, and integrity, in the course of the debate, attracted profound attention by an elaborate speech in favor of the bill, and in opposition to the general principle of a legislative union. As the existing constitution conferred benefits which could from no other system be so confidently expected, he saw no sufficient reason for a change which amounted to an absolute subversion of it. Though there was a possibility of a serious difference of opinion be-

BOOK <sup>XXXI.</sup> between the two parliaments, the probability of this  
1799. was not so great as to require a surrender of the constitution, for the purpose of preventing such discordancy ; and the present bill would remove the only apparent foundation of alarm. The two houses of either parliament might disagree, and ought, by parity of reasoning, to be formed into one assembly ; but a system, which was proved by experience to answer all the beneficial ends of government, ought not to be sacrificed to idle speculation. Commerce, the speaker affirmed to be already in a thriving state, requiring only the care and attention of its natural protectors ; and as to religion, an Irish parliament might adjust all points in which the protestants or catholics were concerned, as effectually as an imperial legislature ; and he urged the natives of Ireland, whether protestant or catholic, alike interested in its trade, its prosperity, and its freedom, to join all hands and hearts together, dismissing all local and partial jealousies, to save their common country from the danger which threatened her.

<sup>Govern-</sup>  
<sup>ment de-</sup>  
<sup>termined to</sup>  
<sup>persevere.</sup> After great debate, the further consideration of the bill was postponed till the 1st of August, and the ministry gained another important, though indecisive, victory. On the termination, however, of the session (June 1, 1799), it manifestly appeared that the court were firmly resolved to

persevere in their original design. The lord-<sup>BOOK</sup>  
lieutenant, on this occasion, informed the two <sup>XXXI.</sup>  
houses, "that he had his majesty's particular  
commands, to acquaint them that a joint address  
of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain  
had been laid before his majesty, accompanied by  
resolutions proposing and recommending a com-  
plete and entire union between Great Britain and  
Ireland; and he declared that his majesty, as the  
common father of his people, must look forward  
with earnest anxiety to the moment when, in con-  
formity to the sentiments, wishes, and real in-  
terests of his subjects in both kingdoms, they may  
all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment  
of the blessings of a free constitution." And in  
the royal speech, at the conclusion of the British  
session (July 12, 1799), the king went so far as  
to declare, "that the ultimate security of Ireland  
could alone be ensured by its intimate and entire  
union with Great Britain; and I am happy," said  
this well-intentioned monarch, "to observe that  
the sentiments manifested by numerous and re-  
spectable descriptions of my Irish subjects justify  
the hope, that the accomplishment of this great  
and salutary work will be proved to be as much  
the joint wish, as it unquestionably is the com-  
mon interest, of both my kingdoms."

The congress of Rastadt had, from the begin-  
ning of the present year (1799), become a mere

BOOK XXXI. form and mockery of negotiation, serving only as a pretext for delay—the armies of neither of the belligerent powers being yet ready to enter the field. Austria awaited with impatience the arrival of the Russians, and the approach of that season of the year when the operations concerted between the imperial courts on the side of Italy and the Tyrol might commence; and France was solicitous to replace, by military conscriptions, the dreadful void which appeared in all the armies of the republic. The renewal of the war was, however, regarded with aversion by all classes of the nation. Every degree of confidence in the government was lost, the most gloomy apprehensions were entertained, and defeat and disgrace were already anticipated.

Recommencement of hostilities between Austria and France. At the end of February, general Jourdain began his march into Suabia; but the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt informed count Metternich, head of the deputation of the empire, "that the march of the army ought to be considered as a precaution rendered necessary by circumstances; and that the directory persisted in the intention of concluding peace with the empire, if the empire would declare itself against the march of the Russians." The deputation, the majority of whose members sincerely wished for peace, came to a *conclusum*, that the note in question should be sent to the diet, accompanied by a declara-

tion, stating the urgent necessity of such an <sup>BOOK</sup> answer as would enable them to resume the <sup>XXXI.</sup> negotiation. But the Austrian minister, in a note dated March 4, signified, in explicit terms, how much this proceeding was disagreeable to his imperial majesty; and that all further declaration should have been suspended till the ulterior decision of the emperor and the empire, agreeably to the former *conclusum* of the deputation.

But hostilities between the emperor and France had actually commenced. The army of Jourdain, amounting to forty thousand men, had crossed the Rhine at Kehl and Basle, March 1st. A secondary army, under the command of general Bernadotte, had at the same time advanced into the palatinate, and penetrated as far as Hailbron. The great object of Jourdain was to prevent the junction of the Austrians and Russians on the Adige. For this purpose, an attack was made upon the Tyrol. The army of Jourdain, now styled the army of the Danube, was strongly supported by the force stationed in Switzerland, under general Massena, which had gained the heights of the Lake of Constance, and threatened the entrance of the Grisons. The archduke Charles passed the Lech on the 5th of March, and took a position on the Inn, parallel to the general line of the operations of the French. The campaign was opened with success by <sup>Army of general Jourdain crosses the Rhine.</sup> <sup>Operations in Germany, many and Switzerland.</sup> ge-

BOOK neral Massena, who captured the important fortress of Luciensteig by assault. Another division

XXXI.  
1799. of Massena's army, having passed the Rhine at Ragatz, and secured the post of Holdenstein, the Austrian general Auffenberg, being nearly surrounded, was compelled to capitulate, and the town of Coire was instantly occupied by the French.

No communication, however, could take place between the armies of Jourdain and Massena, on the eastern side of the Lake of Constance, while the Austrians maintained possession of Feldkirch. On the 12th of March, general Jourdain made a fierce attack upon the enemy intrenched, under the command of the gallant general Hotze, at that place; but was repulsed with considerable loss, and fell back on Dillengen, closely followed by the archduke, who took a position in sight of the French, a narrow valley and rivulet only separating the two armies. One of Jourdain's adjutants presented himself before the Austrian camp, to ask if the dispatches from Vienna, expected in return to the ulterior demands of the directory, had arrived? On receiving an answer in the negative, he proclaimed the rupture of the armistice. This formality was followed by a very

Successes  
of the arch-  
duke  
Charles. brisk attack on the vanguard of the Austrian army, which retreated to the main body. The next day the Austrians attacked the French with

equal vigor, and far superior force, throughout the whole extent of their line; and the latter were in their turn compelled to retreat to Stockach. Here another bloody and obstinate engagement took place, on the 25th of March. Night alone put an end to the carnage, and ten thousand men were left dead or dying on the field of battle. The loss was probably nearly equal; but the effect was far more seriously felt by the French than the Austrians; and, on the morning succeeding, general Jourdain continued his retreat, somewhat precipitately, towards Schaffhausen and Basle. The efforts of this commander had been so great, in proportion to his force, that the whole weight of public indignation in France fell entirely upon the executive government, which had not furnished him with the means of success. In obeying the order of the directory, to cross the Rhine, he stated to them the insufficiency of the force which he commanded to the purpose of an invasion; and observed, that "it would be more easy to find a glorious death, from such an unequal contest, than to reap any laurels." The answer of general Scherer, the war-minister, to this dispatch, consisted merely of common-place impertinence. He allowed "that the disproportion between the forces of Jourdain and those of the archduke might occasion disquietude in some circumstances; but that superiority of numbers

BOOK  
XXXI.1799.  
Battle of  
Stockach.Retreat of  
Jourdain.Imbecility  
of the di-  
rectorial  
govem-  
ment.

~~BOOK~~ could never terrify an army led by the conqueror of  
~~XXXI.~~ Fleurus, &c."—and talked of "national vengeance  
1799. to be exercised against perfidious governments."

General  
Lecourbe  
penetrates  
into the  
Tyrol.

Although general Massena had failed in repeated attempts to force the post of Feldkirch, the different detachments from his division had penetrated into the mountains of the Tyrol towards the sources of the Inn and the Adige, and had rendered themselves masters, in great measure, of this key both of Germany and Italy. General Laudohn guarded, however, the defiles towards the Engadine and the Valteline with great care; and general Lecourbe, who commanded in the Tyrol, found it difficult to surprise his vigilance. Generals Desolles and Loiseau being severally directed to turn the flanks of the Austrian army, performed this service with great dexterity; the former in particular, notwithstanding the ices and snows, scaling the rugged and hitherto inaccessible mountains which separate the sources of the Adda and the Adige. General Lecourbe commanded in person the attack in front; and scarcely could general Laudohn force his way, with the loss of his baggage and cannon, through the chain of the French posts, to the valley of the Adige, called Venosta, where he found general Bellegarde, who now thought it expedient to retreat still further, in order to cover Botzen, and press the levy of the Tyrolian militia.

The campaign in Italy had not opened when <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 that on the Danube seemed closed by the retreat <sup>XXXI.</sup>  
<sup>1799.</sup> of Jourdain, whose army had been the victim of  
 the incapacity and corruption of the directory  
 and their agents; particularly of Scherer, minister  
 of war, who was at length dismissed from his  
 post. But scarcely had the public time to con-  
 gratulate themselves on this event, when it was  
 announced, that this justly obnoxious person was  
 appointed commander-in-chief of the army in  
 Lombardy.

General Scherer appointed to the chief command in Lombardy.

The whole of Italy, from the western Alps to the Adige, and from the Venetian frontier to Sicily, was at this period in possession of the French; and the revolutionary spirit having strongly seized the minds of a great majority of the more daring and enterprising part of the Italians, a vast force might have been collected, under an able and experienced leader, for the defence of the country; a force which, in conjunction with the French, might have defied every effort of the combined powers. But the directory had, by their weak and oppressive policy, alienated the hearts of the Italians, as much as those of the Gallic nation.

Trouvé, under the title of ambassador of France to the Cisalpine republic, had domineered over that state with the most insolent and capri-

BOOK cious tyranny. Not even the forms of a free  
XXXI. government were suffered to subsist : a new con-  
1799. stitution was imperiously proposed to, or, to  
speak more properly, imposed by force upon,  
them ; and the Cisalpines, after tasting the sweets  
of liberty and independence, were enraged to find  
their pretended guardians converted into the  
most cruel oppressors.

The principal changes in the new constitution---  
framed for the Cisalpines by the directory, and said  
to be the immediate fabrication of Lepaux, who  
designed it as a model for the future improvement  
of the French government---were the diminution  
of the number of the legislative body; the lessening  
the number of departments; a prorogation of  
three months in every year; the perpetual right of  
the ex-directors to sit in the council of ancients;  
the renovation of a third of the councils every  
two years; the nomination to every rank in the  
army by the directory---who were also to have  
the liberty of the press under their control, as  
well as the finances; and the initiative in the  
enacting of laws.

Liguria, Tuscany, Rome, and even Lucca,  
groaned under the directorial yoke: what seemed  
most, however, to excite the public astonishment,  
was the disgraceful dismissal of the ambassadors  
of the Neapolitan government, so recently esta-

blished by the immediate instrumentality of <sup>BOOK</sup> France; but it now appeared that the directory <sup>XXXI.</sup> did not *will* a Neapolitan republic. <sup>1799.</sup>

On assuming the command, general Scherer <sup>Disasters  
of the army  
under gene-  
ral Sche-  
rer.</sup> assembled his troops on the Venetian frontier, while the Austrian army formed itself, under the orders of general Kray, along the left side of the Adige. On the 26th of March, the whole Austrian line, between the Lake of Garda and that river, was attacked by six divisions; three of which attempted to force the posts on the lake, in order to take Verona in the rear. This plan, concerted by general Moreau, who led the three divisions, was, so far as related to himself, crowned with success. They carried the redoubts and intrenchments, took possession of Rivoli, and, passing the Adige, cut the line of the Austrian troops, part of which retreated far into the valley. The remaining divisions, under the command of Scherer in person, furiously attacked the outposts of Verona, where they were received with such intrepidity by the Austrians, that the fort of St. Maximin was taken and retaken seven different times. In the result, the French were repulsed, and general Scherer, contrary to the pressing remonstrances of Moreau, who deprecated as fatal this retrograde movement, determined to repass the Adige, and retreat to Peschiera. In a few days, however, throwing bridges over the Adige, he

BOOK <sup>XXXI.</sup> repeated his attack on the Austrian line, but was again repulsed with great slaughter; and the bridges having been broken down, by a detachment which took the French in the rear, the retreat was precluded of many thousands, who were either entirely cut off, or dispersed among the neighbouring mountains. The loss of the French, on that day, was estimated at about seven thousand men.

Battle of  
Magnan.

Thus defeated in his various enterprises, Scherer drew off (April 1) his forces from the Lake of Garda, after throwing a strong garrison into Peschiera, and concentrated his army below Villa Franca, near Magnan—the right division of the French being encamped before Porto Legnano. Meanwhile the Austrian army passed the Adige, occupied Castel Nuovo, and, masking Peschiera, pressed upon the left of the French army. General Scherer, in order to prevent the Austrians from turning his left flank, determined (April 5) to hazard a third general attack. General Kray was well prepared for the conflict, and equally resolved not to decline so favorable an opportunity of engaging a retreating adversary. The battle was long and desperate. Every point of the line, on which the columns met, was disputed with great obstinacy. Moreau pierced through the centre, and fought under the walls of Verona. On the other hand, the left column of the Austrian

army, having succeeded in turning the right of the French, threw the division on that side into confusion, and in the end decided the victory. The next day, Scherer began his retreat to Roverbello, and passed the Mincio at Goito. The capture of Governolo, the blockade of Peschiera and Mantua, and the total interruption of the communication of Scherer with Ferrara and Modena, were the immediate consequences of the victory of Magnan. Such was the situation of affairs in Italy at the moment of the arrival of the first columns of the Russian army.

The successes of Lecourbe, in the Tyrol, were no longer useful, since the plan of offensive war was relinquished by Scherer. He therefore withdrew, not without being much harassed by the enemy, into the Engadine. General Jourdain, in consequence of his continued misunderstanding with the directory, had been superceded, and the chief command conferred upon Massena; who, with his united force, took a strong position along the left side of the Rhine, from the Grisons to the extent of the territory occupied by the French, and fixed his head-quarters at Basle. About the middle of April, the archduke invested Schaffhausen; and the gates being forced, the Austrians entered the city sword-in hand, the French retreating precipitately across the Rhine; and, on

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799.

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~~B O O K~~ leaving the town, they destroyed the bridge so  
~~XXXI.~~ much famed for its singular construction.

~~Arrival of the Russians in Italy under marshal Suwaroff.~~ 1799. The French army in Italy, in the mean time, continued its march beyond the Oglio and Chiusa, while general Kray passed the Mincio with his main force. The vanguard of the Russians, under the famous Suwaroff, had by this time entered the beautiful plains of Italy, reaching Verona on the 13th of April \*; and pressing the march of his columns, he quickly joined the Austrians, and assumed the chief command of the imperial armies. Cremona was now evacuated by the French, who fell back behind the Adda; and, on the 17th of April, general Scherer, covered with disgrace and confusion, after having caused the ruin of the army of the Danube as minister, and that of Italy as commander, was compelled to abandon a station which he was so unworthy to fill; and general Moreau was now entrusted with the hazardous direction of this dispirited and diminished force. Against such decided supe-

~~General Scherer resigns the command to general Moreau.~~

\* The prostrate South to the destroyer yields  
 Her boasted titles, and her golden fields.  
 With grim delight, the brood of Winter view  
 A brighter day, and heavens of azure hue;  
 Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,  
 And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows.

GRAY.

riority, no talents could avail. Peschiera and Brescia were reduced to surrender at discretion, and Mantua was closely blockaded. The headquarters of the French were now removed to Milan, and the army intrenched itself on the Adda; while general Moreau impatiently awaited the reinforcements promised from France; expecting also to be joined by the division which occupied Tuscany, commanded by general Macdonald, and another detached from the army of Massena, under general Desolles. Meanwhile the archduke remained indisposed at Stockach, and the war on the Rhine seemed for a time suspended.

On the 8th of April, count Metternich informed the French ministers, at Rastadt, that he had received a formal order from his imperial majesty, in his quality of chief of the empire, to take no further part in the negotiations for peace, since the circumstances and relations under which the congress had assembled were totally changed; and that he should immediately leave the place of congress. The deputation of the empire, however, refused to concur in this resolution, and contented themselves with referring the decision to the general diet. Divers members, nevertheless, of the deputation left Rastadt immediately on the departure of count Metternich. The bark retained for the conveyance of the French

BOOK  
XXXI.  
1799.

Negotia-  
tion of Ra-  
stadt fin-  
ly broken  
off.

<sup>B O O K</sup>  
~~XXXI.~~ ministers having been cut away by an Austrian  
patrole, and complaint being made of this  
1799. infraction of the law of nations to the grand  
chancellor of the empire, baron d'Albini, answer  
was returned, that he would not be responsible for  
the events of war, nor promise any further secu-  
rity to the congress. The deputation, on this,  
gave notice to the ministers of France, that the  
course of negotiations should be suspended; and  
they, in their turn, protesting against the viola-  
tions of public right, declared that they should  
retire in three days to Strasburg, where they  
would wait for the renewal of the negotiations,  
and receive whatever propositions of peace should  
be offered them.

<sup>Secret arti-</sup>  
<sup>cles of the</sup>  
<sup>treaty of</sup>  
<sup>Campo</sup>  
<sup>Formio.</sup>

At this period, the secret articles of the treaty  
of Campo Formio were made public, doubtless  
by the policy of the French directory; from which  
it appeared, that the emperor had formally con-  
sented to the cession of the left side of the Rhine  
to France, from Basle as far as the confluence of  
this river with the Nethe below Andernach, com-  
prehending Mentz, and the head of the bridge at  
Manheim;—also to evacuate the fortresses of  
Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburg, &c.;—and to furnish  
nothing beyond his contingent in case of the  
continuance of hostilities with the empire.  
France agreed, in return, to a full equivalent to  
the emperor; and particularly to the cession of

Saltzburg, and the Bavarian provinces on the right side of the Inn. The German princes who were injured by the cessions in question, to be indemnified in such manner as should be regulated by the common consent of the emperor and the French republic.

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XXXI.

1799.

In consequence of the notice given by the French ministers at Rastadt (April 26), of their intended departure, the baron d'Albini, grand chancellor, wrote to colonel Barbaczy, the commander of the *cordon* of the Austrian advanced posts, demanding escorts for the députés of the empire, and safe conduct for the French plenipotentiaries. Colonel Barbaczy, on the 28th, addressed a very extraordinary note to the French ministers, informing them, "that, as it did not accord with military plans to tolerate citizens of the French republic in countries occupied by the royal and imperial armies, they consequently should not take it ill that the circumstances of war forced him to signify to them to quit the territory of the army in the space of twenty-four hours." It is remarkable, that the plenipotentiaries would actually have quitted Rastadt on the preceding day, had not the députies of the empire prevailed on them to wait the return of baron d'Albini's messenger. The demand was for a safe conduct; and when it was observed to the Hungarian officer who brought Barbaczy's

~~BOOK~~ letter, that it contained nothing relative to the  
~~XXXI.~~ object of the demand, he answered, that a doubt  
 1799. on that head would be injurious to the honor  
 of an Austrian officer. At the same moment,  
 four hundred hussars, of the regiment of Szeck-  
 ler, entered Rastadt, took possession of the  
 posts and gates of the town, with an order to  
 suffer no person to enter or go out. The  
 French ministers hastened their departure, and  
 at eight in the evening they were in their car-  
 riages. On coming to the gates, they were sur-  
 prised to find a passage refused them; and it  
 was not without an express permission from the  
 military commandant of the place, that they  
 were at length suffered to pass. It was then  
 two hours after sunset; and when they had ad-  
 vanced about five hundred paces from the gate,  
 a troop of Szeckler's hussars, or of persons ex-  
 actly resembling them, suddenly burst out from a

Horrid as-  
 sassinat-  
 ion  
 of the  
 French mi-  
 nisters,  
 Bonnier  
 and Rober-  
 jot. wood that skirted the road, and surrounded the  
 first carriage, in which was Jean Debry, with his  
 wife and children. Thinking them to be some  
 patrole, he exhibited his passport from the win-  
 dow, and mentioned his name and quality.  
 "You are the minister Jean Debry!" was the  
 reply; and immediately he was dragged out of  
 his carriage, and fell, covered with blood, from  
 repeated strokes of the sabre. The hussars pro-  
 ceeded to plunder the carriage; and, returning to

see if he was actually dispatched, raised up his <sup>BOOK</sup> arm, which falling again, as perfectly destitute of <sup>XXXI.</sup> sensation, they exclaimed "Oh, for him, he is <sup>1799.</sup> dead enough!" In the second coach were the secretary and other domestics of the minister, who were suffered to pass, after the pillage of their property. In the third carriage was Bonnier alone. They asked if he was the minister Bonnier. On his answering in the affirmative, the hussar opened the door of the carriage, dragged him out, and he was instantly murdered with many mortal wounds. The secretary of the legation, Rosenstiel, who was in the fourth coach, seeing by the light of a flambeau what was passing, jumped out of the carriage, and fortunately made his escape. In the fifth coach was the minister Roberjot and his wife. They attempted to drag him out; but Madame Roberjot holding him fast clasped in her arms, they massacred him in this position; and, having thus executed their commission of pillage and slaughter, the hussars rode off. The carriages, immediately turning back to Rastadt, were freely readmitted within the walls. The secretary Rosenstiel, having wandered about for some time, gained a narrow path which led safely to Rastadt; and Jean Debry, with much difficulty making his way to a neighbouring wood, bound up his wounds in the best manner he was able, the coldness of the

BOOK night contributing happily to stop the effusion  
XXXI. of blood. He continued there till daylight, and  
1799. then, venturing out, crept slowly and unobserved  
into the town.

Injurious  
imputati-  
ons cast on  
the court  
of Vienna.

The indignation and horror excited by this atrocious and unexampled act of barbarity, pervaded every mind susceptible of the feelings of humanity. The Prussian legation wrote immediately a letter to colonel Barbaczy, expressed in terms which strongly marked their suspicions of that officer; and demanding an effectual escort and safeguard for what remained of the French legation. It appeared, indeed, incredible that this crime could have been committed without his knowledge. Had the ruffians who perpetrated these bloody deeds been prompted merely by the motives common to such wretches, would the ministers have been the only persons sacrificed by them? Would they have carried the effects and papers pillaged, as was openly affirmed to be the case, to the Austrian commandant at Rastadt? Would they, in a word, have practised that sort of discrimination which marks a premeditated design? It was imagined by many that Barbaczy was but the instrument of this abominable crime; in proof of which it was alleged, that, when the directorial minister of Mentz complained to that officer of the insults offered by the Austrian troops during the last days of the congress, Bar-

baczy did not venture to give any answer him-  
self, but sent the letter to the commandant of <sup>BOOK</sup>  
Freudenstadt, who, in his turn, waited the orders <sup>XXXI.</sup> 1799.  
of a superior.

Jean Debry, and the other survivors of the legation, left Rastadt the following day under an Austrian escort, accompanied by another, and much stronger, furnished by the margrave of Baden. Colonel Barbazcy was subsequently arrested, by order of the archduke Charles, with the professed view of undergoing a trial by court-martial; which however did not eventually take place. It was pretended--by those who wished to perplex what the vilest of mankind dared not to palliate--in express contradiction, not only to the oral evidence of the parties, but to the solemn judicial depositions taken at Carlsruhe, that the murderers were not Austrians, but French emigrants in disguise. How far the court of Vienna was implicated, directly or indirectly, in this black and mysterious business, cannot easily be ascertained. Against the archduke, indeed, a prince of unblemished virtue, and of the highest honor, or even the emperor, *personally*, no suspicion could possibly attach; and supposing, contrary to all previous probability, any persons possessing the imperial confidence capable of so horrid a design, it still remains to point out what motives of sufficient magnitude, public

~~BOOK~~ or private, existed, to excite them to the com-  
 XXXI. mission of it. The circumstances, nevertheless,  
 1799: attending this catastrophe were such as called  
 for the most anxious investigation, in order to  
 remove all possibility of imputation from the  
 Austrian government, which ought to have been  
 as free from suspicion as from guilt; but, most  
 unfortunately, the coldness and apathy apparent  
 in its whole conduct on this occasion was very  
 ill calculated to efface the jealous and invidious  
 surmises of those who yield a ready assent to all  
 that is told of "the crimes of cabinets."

In the imperial aulic decree of the 6th of June,  
 addressed to the diet at Ratisbon, the emperor  
 does, indeed, as far as words can be allowed to  
 have weight, vindicate his own honor, and that of  
 his government, by declaring, "that he was  
 scarcely able to express the great shock his sen-  
 timents of justice and morality had received, and  
 the whole force of the impression of abhorrence  
 which has been excited in him, on the first ac-  
 count of this act of barbarity committed on the  
 territory of the German empire upon persons  
 whose inviolability was under the special gua-  
 rantee of the right of nations."

Violent re-  
 sentment  
 displayed  
 by the  
 French go-  
 vernment.

The French directory, as might be expected,  
 hesitated not publicly and peremptorily, in a  
 message to the two councils, to ascribe the mur-  
 der of the plenipotentiaries to the command or

contrivance of the court of Vienna. But a charge of this nature, from such a quarter, can carry with it very little weight. The councils, in return, resolved "that this act should be denounced, in the name of the French nation, to all good men, and to the governments of every country, as committed by the cabinet of Vienna, and executed by its troops, on the 9th of Floreal, 7th year—with their reliance on the courage of the French to avenge it;—that a funeral *fête* should be celebrated in honor of the murdered deputies throughout the republic;—and that the government guilty of this assassination should be consigned to the vengeance of nations, and the execrations of posterity." Such was the tragical termination of a congress, which, at its opening, seemed as if it were destined to restore peace and happiness to Europe.

This event for a moment averted the torrent of public indignation from the directory. The elections of the renewed third of the legislative body once more excited the passions of all parties; and the choice of new members, notwithstanding the threats and artifices of the directory, was by no means favorable to their wishes. Among the directors themselves, the lot of secession had fallen upon Rewbel, whose conduct in office had been such as to cover him with opprobrium; insomuch, that, when this public despoiler subse-

Civil dissensions in France.

BOOK <sup>XXXI.</sup> quently took his seat in the council of elders, the bench where he placed himself was instantly deserted by all the other members of the council. The person fixed upon as his successor was the famous abbé Sieyes, then ambassador at the court of Berlin. This choice, made in avowed opposition to the utmost exertions of the directory, portended some great and important change in the political system. The power of the directory received, from the impression of public opinion, an alarming shock; for the sentiments of Sieyes were well known to be in the highest degree inimical, not merely to the conduct and to the persons of his colleagues, but to the whole plan of the directorial constitution. They dreaded him, therefore, as an enemy whom it were hopeless to subdue, and impossible so soften. The repeated disgraces recently attending the arms of France had provoked the council of five hundred to exertions of which it was thought incapable. On the report of an extraordinary commission, a message was sent to the directory to demand detailed accounts respecting the administration of the ex-minister of war, Scherer, who had exacted pay for an army of four hundred and thirty-seven thousand men, to be found only on paper; and the deficiency of the cavalry, in particular, was stated at no less than forty thousand men.

The Austrian army, during these political con-

1799.  
Abbé  
Sieyes  
chosen  
member of  
the direc-  
tory.

tentions, continued its career of conquest. The <sup>BOOK</sup>  
**XXXI.**  
 battles of Stockach and Magnan had entirely <sup>1799.</sup>  
~~disconcerted~~ the plans of the French, both in Ger-  
 many and Italy. The retreat of Moreau upon  
<sup>Retreat of</sup>  
 the Milanese, however necessary, rendered the  
 situation of the army of Naples very critical;  
 for, Ferrara and Mantua being actually invested,  
 and the posts of the Po abandoned, the commun-  
 ication with Tuscany and the south of Italy could  
 not fail to be intercepted. Marshal Suvaroff,  
 whose force at this time amounted to triple the  
 number of the French, now in a manner invested  
 the intrenched camp of Moreau, on the banks of  
 the Adda, where that able general could not ex-  
 pect much longer to maintain his position. By  
 fixing, however, the chief attention of his antago-  
 nist, he materially favored the march and con-  
 sequent junction of the southern divisions. On  
<sup>Battle of</sup>  
<sup>the Adda.</sup>  
 the 26th and 27th of April a general attack  
 took place on all the posts of the French upon  
 the Adda. After a gallant resistance, the su-  
 periority of numbers prevailed, and the Austro-  
 Russian army, led by marshal Suvaroff and  
 general Melas, forced their bloody passage at  
 Trezzo and Cassano. The French made their  
 retreat through Milan during the night, and the  
 allied armies entered that city the following day.

The capital of the Cisalpine republic was now  
 once more in the power of the Austrians; and

~~BOOK~~  
~~XXXI.~~  
had they used that power with moderation, the  
expulsion of the French would never have become  
1799. a subject of regret. Instead of seeking in the  
Italian republics powerful and faithful allies,  
capable of contributing to the general support,  
and fighting under the common banner of liberty,  
the directory had been solicitous only to form  
feeble and dependent governments, all whose  
motions should be influenced by their supreme  
and sovereign will, exercised through the me-  
dium of their harpy commissioners, in a manner  
the most oppressive and capricious.

No sooner was the result of the battle on the Adda known at Milan, than the members of the Cisalpine directory provided for their personal safety by an immediate flight. But the majority of those citizens who had exercised the powers of government under the republic, submitted to the *clemency* of the conquerors; and eagerly indulging the delusive hopes of the moment, even

General  
Suwaroff  
enters Mi-  
lan.

Suwaroff was hailed as a protector and deliverer. The Russian commander, intent upon his military operations, seemed to regard Milan with no peculiar emotion, and, consigning over the delinquents, with equal indifference, to the mercy or the justice of the Austrian government, continued his pursuit of the French, extending his right into Upper Italy, with the view of securing the principal entrances into Switzerland.

The grand Austrian army, since the capture of Schaffhausen, had made no considerable movement. General Massena, including his recent reinforcements, now commanded an army of sixty thousand men. A combined attempt, by general Hotze, detached from the army of the archduke, on the one side, and general Bellegarde, from the Tyrol, on the other, early in the month of May, to penetrate into the country of the Grisons, was rendered abortive by the courage and activity of Lecourbe. The archduke remained, notwithstanding, firm to his plan, not to hazard offensive operations on the Rhine, till he had dislodged the French from the strong holds they possessed in his rear. The generals Hotze and Bellegarde concerted a new attack; and the redoubtable post of Luciensteig, the key of the Grisons, situated in a narrow defile, formed by high and rugged rocks, and which, since its occupation by the French, had been made almost impregnable, was again (May 14) assailed with desperate valor by Hotze, in conjunction with a numerous corps of armed Swiss and Grisons, collected by the ex-avoyer Steiguer; and the pass being at length forced, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. After this success the French evacuated the Grisons and the Valteline, retreating hastily across the Rhine. General Bellegarde, who pursued them with dili-

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799.

BOOK gence, took possession of Coire, May 16. The  
XXXI. archduke and Massena now concentrated their  
1799. forces, and operations still more important than  
the past excited the general expectation.

Having reached the centre of Lombardy, sooner even than the most flattering hope could have ventured to predict, marshal Suwaroff improved with vigor the advantages he had gained. He detached general Ott with a strong division to support general Klenau, who was engaged in the sieges of Bologna and Ferrara, and, by seizing the passes of the Appennines, to stop the progress of the army of Naples, now on its march towards Tuscany, under the command of general Macdonald. General Kray had been for some time past occupied in forming the siege of Mantua.

Subsequent to the retreat of general Moreau beyond the Adda, he advanced his army, in three columns, towards the Genoese territory; repairing in person to Turin, in order to provide for the eventual evacuation of that city, and the safety of the citadel: and on the 7th of May he transferred his head-quarters to Alessandria. Suwaroff in the mean while had advanced to Pavia, and sent out strong detachments to take possession of Tortona, Novarra, Piacenza, Pizzighitone, the castle of Milan, &c.; thus, by his various diverging movements, dangerously en-

feebling his main force, which general Moreau <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~XXXI.~~ was utterly unable, had it been consolidated, to ~~XXXI.~~ withstand. That skilful commander took an excellent military position between Valenza and Alessandria, behind the Po, fortifying himself, as he had before done, on the Adda, within a sort of intrenched camp. On the 12th of May a Russian division passed the river below Valenza, and made a furious attack on the left of the French; but were driven back with much slaughter. Suwaroff now resolved to march his main force along the left bank of the Po to Turin, in order to compel the French general either to fall back on the frontier of France itself, or to take refuge in the territory of the Ligurian republic. General Moreau, perceiving the movements made to facilitate this design, threw a bridge in the night over the Bormida, near Alessandria, and, passing it the next morning in person at the head of a strong column, attacked and broke the chain of Austrian and Russian posts of Marenzo, Guili-anو, and Garrafolo, and retired in safety to Alessandria. Notwithstanding this success, he deemed it expedient, in consequence of the loss of Casal, captured by general Vukassowich, to evacuate Valenza and Alessandria; retreating by way of Coni, and still keeping open his communication with Finale, and the other posts on the Genoese coast.

<sup>Loss of  
Casal.</sup>  
<sup>Further re-  
treat of  
Moreau.</sup>

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Turin sur-  
renders to  
general  
Suwaroff.

Marshal Suwaroff, thus disappointed by the superior generalship of Moreau in his design of surrounding the enemy in the camp of Alessandria, bent his march towards Turin, which quickly surrendered to the allies; the garrison retiring to the citadel, May the 27th. Thus ten weeks scarcely had elapsed from the beginning of hostilities on the Adige, till the daring Russian had led his northern barbarians from the foot of the Rhetian Alps, across the beautiful and verdant plains of Lombardy, almost within sight of the purple vineyards of Provence.

Army of  
Naples re-  
treats to  
Tuscany.

But, though Suwaroff had made this surprising progress in front, he had yet behind him an army against which it was necessary to assemble no inconsiderable force. General Macdonald, on the news of the retreat from the Adige, had evacuated the kingdom of Naples. A camp was previously formed at Caserta, and a numerous national guard created at Naples. Fort St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, were severally provided and garrisoned for a siege; the government was organised; and the Neapolitan patriots seemed eager to defend themselves against all the efforts of the court of Palermo, entertaining no suspicion of the intended desertion of their allies. But they were thrown into a stupor of amazement when, on the 9th of May, general Macdonald departed from the camp of Caserta, in con-

sequence of the positive orders which he had received; taking the route of Rome and Florence. BOOK  
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The Roman republicans were scarcely less confounded. A feeble garrison was left in Rome, which had directions, in case of necessity, to retire to the castle of St. Angelo. General Miolis, who commanded in Tuscany, had formed a camp of observation between Florence and Bologna, with a view to guard the passes of the Appenines. Ferrara and Ravenna, with the castle of Milan, had before this time fallen into the hands of the Austrians, and Bologna was closely invested. That city made, however, a most obstinate defence, it being a matter of the highest importance to the French general to retain possession of it till he had secured his retreat through the Bolognese to Lombardy. Such was the situation of affairs, and such the respective positions of the contending armies, at the beginning of June. It is now proper to advert more particularly to the state of things in the city and kingdom of Naples.

Newly awakened to freedom, the hearts of the Neapolitans had, on the establishment of their republic, begun to dilate at the prospect of the progressive happiness which lay, or seemed to lie, before them. Deputations flowed in from all quarters to congratulate the republican government. The nobles, laying aside their Gothic

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1799. prerogatives, felt pleasure in saluting by the name of brothers and equals those whom pride, supported by despotism, had hitherto called their vassals. The greater part of the bishops sent letters declaratory of their attachment to the revolution. For the first time in the Neapolitan provinces was seen the interesting spectacle of Liberty crowned by the hands of Religion. Almost every where the tree of liberty was planted by the intervention of the clergy, who, clothed in their sacred robes, implored the blessing of Heaven on their regenerated country, and consecrated the joyful celebration with pious and solemn rites. In a word, a great majority of the higher classes of the community, both laics and ecclesiastics, seemed strongly influenced by the revolutionary spirit. They had long discerned and detested the ignorance, the bigotry, and the oppression, of the vile despotism to which they were subject; and they seemed to embrace with enthusiastic eagerness the opportunity which now offered for ever to shake off so ignominious a yoke. But the inferior ranks of the Neapolitan nation were by no means prepared for so great a change. Their minds, unenlightened by knowledge, and degraded by the habits of slavery, did not expand at the idea of LIBERTY; a term of which they could, indeed, scarcely be made to comprehend the import.

Cardinal Ruffo, at the head of the partisans of the court, had fixed himself at Reggio, in Calabria, bearing aloft the crucifix in the one hand, and brandishing the sword in the other. Eternal happiness in a future world, and the spoils of the patriots in the present, were the temptations held out to the superstitious and barbarous Calabrese. Proclamations were every where diffused in the name and by the authority of the king, and desperadoes of all sorts crowded to the royal standard. The English naval force on the coast maintained a correspondence with the different bodies of insurgents in the interior, and excited the spirit of revolt wherever its sphere of influence extended.

The provisional government, without regular troops, or the means of raising a military force, surrounded by the tempests which arose on all sides, remained in reluctant inactivity. So long as they were under the protection of the French army, and no longer, was even the personal safety of the members of the new government to be depended on ; and the departure of the French served as the signal for the counter-revolution. The most distinguished patriots of the provinces, flying from the poniard of assassination, took refuge in the metropolis, as the sole remaining asylum. Those districts which had hitherto remained faithful, now despairing of the cause of

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~~BOOK~~  
~~XXXI.~~  
1799. liberty, joined the murderous bands under cardinal Russo, in the hope, if not to prevent, at least to soften the royal vengeance, which every man figured as about to be terrible in its effects ; and the Neapolitan republic, just awakened into existence, already hung trembling over the abyss of dissolution.

The defence of the two gulphs of Naples and Puzzuoli, and the internal care of the capital, were confided to the Neapolitan patriots alone. They had at once to maintain order among the Lazaroni within, and to oppose the attacks of the insurgents from without. At length, on the 13th of June, the counter-revolutionists, with the cardinal, a true son of the church militant, at their head, formed before the gates ; and, aided by the English, Russian, and Turkish squadrons, completely blockaded the city. After one desperate sally, the patriots were compelled to shut themselves up in their strong holds. The fort first attacked was that of Avigliano, situated on the sea shore ; which, little capable of resistance, soon capitulated upon terms : but the ferocious assailants, unobservant of the treaty, broke in, and began to plunder and to massacre ; upon which the garrison, with generous despair, set fire to the magazine, and involved themselves and the enemy in one common ruin. The day following, the insurgents entered the city on every side.

Naples  
surrenders  
to cardinal  
Russo.

The Neapolitan populace, hitherto tranquil, on the first contact with this new fermentation burst into a most furious insurrection. In an instant, Calabrians, galley-slaves, ruffians, and Lazaroni, spread themselves through every quarter, thirsting for blood and slaughter. Heads of patriots, bathed in gore, were carried on pikes in triumph through the streets. Those savage and horrible excesses which characterised the direst periods of the reign of terror and of revolutionary madness in France, were here re-acted, with fury if possible still more infernal, by these detestable restorers of regular government and social order! The prisons and dungeons were at the same time thronged with persons who formed the pride and ornament of the Neapolitan nation; and who now became the victims of the generous, but fatal, delusion, that their fellow-countrymen were prepared to throw off the yoke of a degrading despotism, and to receive, with gratitude proportionate to its value, the inestimable blessing of freedom.

The members of the Neapolitan government had taken possession of the two forts of the capital; viz. Castel Nuovo and Castel del Uovo: as also of the Castell-a-mare, six leagues from Naples. The latter immediately capitulated, on terms of safety to the lives, persons, and pro-

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BOOK <sup>XXXI.</sup> perty of the garrison, to the English squadron commanded by commodore Foote. The capture of the two former was attended with more difficulty. The patriots, who had at first taken the resolution of burying themselves under the ruins of their liberty, fought with incredible valor. Feeling, however, on receiving a second summons of surrender, that, deprived of all external succour, their eventual resistance would serve only to increase the misfortunes of their country, they at length decided on a treaty, in concert with citizen Mejan, commander of the fort of St. Elmo, garrisoned by the French; and a joint capitulation was accordingly signed, June 22, upon condition of their being allowed to march out with the honors of war; of security, both to persons and property, for all those in the two forts; and liberty to all, either to remain at Naples, or embark for France on board transports to be provided and equipped by his Neapolitan majesty. The capitulation thus solemnly agreed on was ratified by cardinal Ruffo, vicar-general of the king of the Two Sicilies, by commodore Foote, and by the respective commanders of the Russian and Turkish squadrons, the last of whom affixed his mark and seal, consisting of a cimeter and half-moon. Hostages were, agreeably to the tenor of the treaty, delivered on the one side;

and on the other, the prisoners of all descriptions were set at liberty\*.

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While the capitularies, to the number of about 1500, who had declared their intention of emigrating, were waiting for the vessels which were to convey them to France, lord Nelson arrived with his whole fleet in the bay of Naples, having on board the Anglo-Neapolitan ambassador, sir William Hamilton, and his lady. On the evening of the 26th of June the patriots evacuated their forts, and embarked on board the transports prepared for them, and which were moored alongside the English fleet. On the next day the members of the executive commission, a great part of those of the legislative commission, the whole of the officers who had occupied the first ranks of the republic, and others who had been marked by the court of Sicily, were taken out of the transports, and carried on board the British admiral's own ship. Among these was the celebrated Dominico Cerilli, above thirty years the

Horrible  
excesses  
of the Nea-  
politan  
court.

\*\* There are two copies extant of this capitulation, one in Italian, the other in French. The French copy is in Paris, and was confided to the inspection of the celebrated Helen Maria Williams by the bishop of Canosa, monsignor Forges di Avanzati, who was a member of the legislative body of the Neapolitan republic. Various of the most interesting particulars in the narrative are extracted from the publication of that elegant and animated writer, styled, "Sketches of Manners, &c. in the French Republic."

**BOOK** intimate friend of the English ambassador. / On  
**XXXI.** the deck of the admiral's ship stood sir William  
1799. Hamilton and his lady, surveying, with curious  
attention, these devoted victims, bound hand and  
foot like the vilest criminals. After this review,  
these martyrs at the shrine of liberty were distrib-  
uted among the different ships of the fleet.  
The remainder of the revolutionists were shut up  
in the dungeons of the castles which they had  
surrendered on the faith of the treaty.

A few days subsequent to these transactions,  
the king of Naples, accompanied by his minister  
Acton, arrived from Palermo on board an En-  
glish frigate. He immediately declared, by an  
edict, that it never was his intention to capitulate  
with *rebels*, and that consequently the fate of  
those who were in the transports, or in the forts,  
was to depend entirely upon his justice and clem-  
ency. And by a second edict the property of  
the patriots was put under sequestration. Against  
this procedure remonstrances were in vain made  
by the commanders of the coalesced powers who  
had signed the articles of the capitulation.

Wearied by the cruelties they suffered, and  
emboldened by the sanctity of the treaties so  
recently concluded, the prisoners on board the  
ships in the bay at length addressed a letter to  
admiral Nelson, in which they stated, in clear  
and specific terms, the conditions to which they

were entitled. "After the arrival," say they, <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~XXXI.~~ <sup>1799.</sup> "of the British fleet in this road, commanded by ~~your excellency,~~ the capitulation was begun to be put in execution. The garrisons of the forts, on their part, set at liberty the state prisoners and the English prisoners of war, and gave up to the troops of his Britannic majesty the gate of the royal palace which leads to the new fort: and on the other side, the troops of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias attended the march of the garrison, with all the honors of war, out of the forts. It is now twenty-four days that we are lying in this road, unprovided with every thing necessary to existence. We have nothing but bread to eat; we drink nothing but putrid water, or wine mingled with sea-water; and we have nothing but the bare planks to sleep on. Our houses have been entirely pillaged, and the greater part of our relations either imprisoned or massacred. We are persuaded that all the treatment which we suffer, after having capitulated, and after having on our side put the articles of the capitulation religiously into execution, is entirely unknown to your excellency, and to his Sicilian majesty, your fidelity and his benevolence being engaged in our deliverance. The delay of the execution of the capitulation gives us room to claim and implore his and your justice, in order that a treaty concluded with four

<sup>BOOK</sup>  
~~XXXI.~~ of the most civilised powers of Europe, who have  
 always appreciated the inviolability of treaties,

1799. should be executed as speedily as possible. We hope that, by means of your good offices with his Sicilian majesty, due execution will be given to the articles of a capitulation which has been signed with good faith, and religiously fulfilled on the part of the garrison.”

<sup>Proceedings of the court counter-naunced by the British naval commander.</sup> The answer of lord Nelson to this moving address will be forever memorable in history. “ I have,” said this renowned hero, “ shown your paper to your *gracious* king, who must be the best and only judge of the merits and demerits of his subjects.”

What! was the king of Naples the only judge whether the articles of a treaty, to the strict observance of which the faith and honor of Britain were irrevocably engaged, should, or should not, be carried into execution? Could so monstrous a proposition be advanced with seriousness, or heard without scorn and amazement?

After the surrender of the fort Castell-a-mare, commodore Foote had shown the most anxious solicitude that the conditions granted to the garrison should be punctually performed. “ I entreat you,” said this gallant officer to the commander of the fortress for the king of Naples, who had, as it appears, detained some effects belonging to the officers of the garrison, “ to observe, that I am highly interested in seeing these

gentlemen satisfied ; since such is the condition <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 of the capitulation : which is necessarily sacred." <sup>XXXI.</sup>  
 The whole body of Neapolitan revolutionists <sup>1799.</sup>  
 being thus consigned to remediless ruin, by the  
 British admiral, in open, and almost avowed, vio-  
 lation of the faith of Britain, solemnly and pub-  
 licly pledged, a horrible scene commenced ;  
 of which the view, and even the relation, might  
 suffice to rouse the most insensible to indigna-  
 tion, to melt the most obdurate to pity.

All the dungeons of the forts being filled with prisoners, floating prisons were formed of old dis-  
 masted vessels. Around the British admiral's  
 own ship, on board of which was the king of Na-  
 ples, the sea was covered with those watery Bas-  
 tiles, where the unhappy prisoners were so closely  
 stowed that they seemed to form one great im-  
 moveable mass. Without shelter, and almost  
 without food or clothing, they stood exposed to  
 the burning rays of a meridian and solstitial sun,  
 suffering, in silence, the brutal insults of the Ca-  
 labrian russians who were placed over them as  
 guards. The king himself, from the deck of the  
 admiral's ship, not unfrequently satiated his royal  
 vengeance with gazing on this dreadful display  
 of human misery. But what still more, perhaps,  
 affected the feelings of these unfortunate victims,  
 was the extraordinary spectacle of the British  
 ambassadress, gallantly attended, like another

BOOK Cleopatra, and rowed along the bay, in nautical  
XXXI. magnificence, before these floating tombs; which

1799. contained all that Naples could boast of science, of patriotism, and of virtue.

Nevertheless what has yet been related, was only the beginning of sorrows. Cardinal Ruffo, who was well known to be highly dissatisfied with these proceedings, though honored with the title of viceroy, possessed no real or efficient authority; the whole power of government being vested in the famous counter-revolutionary tribunal or council established by royal edict, and commonly styled the junto of state: through the medium of which a most sanguinary proscription now commenced. Such as had rendered themselves conspicuous by accepting civil or military employments under the ill-fated republic; such as were distinguished by their intellectual talents, or literary acquirements; were all marked out for punishment. As fast as these bloody lists were framed, the persons described in them were loaded with irons, and carried back to the forts, where they awaited the order of execution. Every afternoon the transports in turn underwent this terrible visitation, and the decree of arrestation was the virtual sentence of death.

What appeared most extraordinary during the continuance of this reign of terror, was, that British officers were made the instruments, however

reluctant, of royal outrage and barbarity. "The <sup>BOOK</sup> soldiers of Great Britain," exclaimed a distinguished Neapolitan patriot, "the sons of the English nation, the first-born of liberty in Europe, the heirs of so many philosophers, who were the founders of public morality and of the rights of nations; Englishmen, the acknowledged defenders of the principles of freedom throughout the world, found themselves humbled to the condition of becoming satellites of the cruelty of the king of Naples, and *gendarmes* of his tribunal of blood." Such were the sentiments excited by the habitual reverence impressed upon the mind of these Neapolitans for the character of the English nation. How British honor in this fatal business bled at every pore, remains yet further to be narrated.

Admiral Nelson, when he arrived in the bay, issued a proclamation, ordering all who had accepted employments, or in any manner *committed* themselves, during the republican government at Naples, to repair to Castel Nuovo, to give in their names and places of abode, with a statement of the nature of the obligations which they had contracted; promising protection and security to those who should make such confessions. The greater number of the delinquents hastened to comply with the terms of the proclamation; among whom were the marquis Gi-

XXXI.  
1799.

BOOK  
XXXI.  
1799. cinto Dragonetti, Nicola Gionatti, and Onofrio Calace; all of whom were magistrates of great distinction under the monarchy, and, from the probity of their characters, had been continued in their functions under the new organisation of the government. Notwithstanding, however, the assurances previously given, in a few days these venerable citizens were put under arrest, and brought to their trials. In the result, the two first were banished to Marseilles, and the third perished upon the scaffold.

Amid such crowds of victims as sealed their attachment to liberty with their blood, it is difficult to select the names of individuals. The destruction was terrible: and Naples lost, by the hands of the executioner, almost all that it boasted of men illustrious for knowledge and merit, and who had given distinction to their country among the states of Italy, or the nations of Christendom.

The celebrated prince Carracioli, general and chief of the Neapolitan marine, pleaded his own cause with all the dignified eloquence of an ancient Roman. He was executed on board a Neapolitan frigate, in sight of the English fleet. Mario Pogano, esteemed the genius of Neapolitan liberty; the learned Marcello Scoti, an ecclesiastic of the purest life and manners, and member of the legislative commission; Paschale Buffo

and Joseph Luogoteta, both members of the provisional government, and distinguished patrons of literature; the marchesi Carlato and Gensano, young men of high hopes and lofty views, who had breathed early vows for the liberty of their country; the bishop of Vico Monsignor Natale; the generals Massa and Frederici; and to add no more, the accomplished Eleonora Fonseca, were all fated to undergo the same cruel and ignominious death, as perpetual warnings to their successors in patriotism and philanthropy, if any such shall hereafter arise in Naples, how dangerous is the sublime attempt to inspire a people, sunk and lost in the depths of ignorance, superstition, and despotism, with just and noble sentiments, or awaken them to a sense of their own natural, inherent, and indefeasible rights !

Wearied at length with arrests, trials, and executions, the JUNTO decreed, that such persons as had capitulated, and who remained on board the transports, might sail for one of the ports of France, under condition of perpetual banishment, with the absolute confiscation of all their estates. The number of capitularies, originally about 1500, was now reduced to 500; and deplorable as the alternative now offered them appears, this act of royal clemency was accepted with unutterable joy, and on the 12th of August they

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799.

Extirpa-  
tion and  
banishment  
of the Nea-  
politan pa-  
triots.

**BOOK** sailed from the bay of Naples, the objects of  
 XXXI. envy to thousands who walked the streets of that  
 1799. metropolis, under the salutary protection of that  
 lawful and regular government by the recent ex-  
 ercises of which, moral and social order had been  
 so happily and effectually restored \*.

Battle of  
Schaffhau-  
sen.

It is now proper to resume the less horrific de-  
 tail of military operations. The French columns,  
 in retreating from the Grisons, were closely pur-  
 sued by the generals Bellegarde and Hotze. Le-  
 courbe, after having repassed Mount St. Gothard  
 from Bellinzone, rallied, and approached the  
 main army of Massena. Towards the end of  
 May the archduke passed the Rhine at Schaff-  
 hausen, with a view to join the corps of general  
 Hotze; which, notwithstanding the utmost ef-

\* The horrid barbarities of the court of Naples excited the pity and indignation, not merely of those who were classed among the friends and advocates of liberty and reform, but of all other persons capable of the common feelings and sympathies of humanity. "NAPLES," says M. Mallet du Pan, "opened her gates to him (*i. e.* cardinal Ruffo) upon a ca-  
 pitulation, which the king afterwards refused to ratify; and the town was again plunged into mourning and terror, by the horrible excesses committed by the Calabrians against all whom they suspected of having aided the revolution. It has been attempted to cast a veil over the scenes of this period; and the only knowledge of them among foreign nations has been received from the accounts given by some Englishmen, who witnessed them with horror and indignation."—*British Mercury, Sept. 30, 1799.*

forts of the French commander, he effected on the 27th at Winterthus, where the head quarters of the Austrians were established. General Bellegarde in the mean time, seconded by divers of the hardy mountaineers of the lesser cantons, had taken possession of Glaris; and appearing to menace Lucerne, the members of the Helvetic government withdrew from that city to Berne\*. General Massena was now obliged to concentrate his forces in his entrenched camp before Zurich. After much skilful manœuvring, and the attack of various posts with various success, the archduke on the 5th of June bore down with his whole force upon the entrenchments, which the French defended with obstinate valor. The approach of night at length compelled the Austrians to retire. Orders were issued to re-commence the attack early the next morning: but Massena took advantage of the darkness to evacuate Zurich, and assume a new position on the heights of Mount Albis; his left extending to the Rhine, and his right to the lake of Zug: and the archduke took triumphant possession of the city of Zurich.

B O O K  
XXXI.

1799.

\* It is a remarkable acknowledgment of M. Mallet du Pan, "that some hundreds of mountaineers in the three democratic cantons, armed for the defence of their rocks, and some particular regiments in the pay of Great Britain, *and by no means levied freely*, were almost the only auxiliaries in the field that seconded the imperial army."

Zurich surrenders to the arch-duke.

BOOK XXXI. General Moreau on the other side, after a hard conflict found himself compelled, from the successes and superior force of Suwaroff, to relinquish his communication with Switzerland; his primary object being to cover the Ligurian republic, and to defend the barrier of the Appenines, so as to afford general Macdonald the means of effectuating his retreat. The ambition of Suwaroff to complete the conquest of Piedmont, by the capture of Turin, was very favorable to the views of Moreau, who, from his entrenched camp of Coni, detached a division under general Victor to cross the Genoese territory, and form a junction, if possible, with the army of Naples; while he himself engaged and almost engrossed the attention of the Russian commander, who, after the surrender of Turin, had caused a great part of his army to march towards the Pays de Vaud and the department of Mont Blanc, vainly threatening to penetrate the ancient frontier of France. General Suwaroff proceeded in person against Moreau, who leaving a strong garrison in Coni, withdrew, June the 7th, to the strong post of the Col de Tende. At this period the archduke, perceiving the schemes of Suwaroff difficult of accomplishment, directed general Bellegarde with the greater part of his division to join the army of Italy; which that officer successfully effected, marching by the route of Milan to Tortona.

1799.  
Operations  
in Lombar-  
dy, and in  
Tuscany.

On the arrival of general Macdonald at Florence, <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~XXXI.~~ May the 24th, he hastened to form a junction with ~~XXXI.~~ <sup>1799.</sup> the troops stationed in Tuscany; which with the reinforcement under general Victor, who soon after joined him with the whole of his division, formed, including the original force of Macdonald, an army of forty thousand effective men. In the beginning of June he transferred his head quarters to Lucca; apparently with a view to enter the Genoese by the route of Sarzana; but finding his strength so great, on the 8th of that month he unexpectedly began his march towards Modena; and on the 12th made a fierce attack upon the Austrians, a large body of whom were encamped near that place under general Hohenzollern, who was forced, after a bloody engagement, to abandon Modena to the French, and retreat to Mirandola. Macdonald now prepared to march on to the relief of Mantua: but general Kray, ordering the bridges on the Po to be broken, posted himself with a great force on the opposite bank of the river to oppose the passage of the French. General Macdonald upon this, turning to the westward, entered Parma June the 14th, and the day after Piacenza, the citadel of which he immediately invested. In the mean time general Moreau moved with his army to Genoa, where he formed a junction with the Ligurian division under general Perignan, with a <sup>General Macdonald recovers Modena.</sup> <sup>General Moreau retires to Genoa.</sup>

BOOK view to resume offensive operations in concert  
XXXI. with Macdonald.

1799. Marshal Suwaroff, alarmed at the recent movements of the French armies, left general Kaim before the citadel of Turin, which was still resolutely defended, and marched with a large division of his force towards Tortona and Piaenza, where the Austrians had assembled in great strength under general Melas; and a junction between the two imperial commanders took place on the 17th of June, very critically, and in the midst of an attack on the part of the French upon the chain of posts on the Tidone. The next day measures were taken by the allied generals to compel the enemy to a decisive engagement. General Macdonald had ranged his army on the left side of the Trebia, with that river in his rear. After a furious conflict, as usual, and much effusion of blood, the French were obliged to retire beyond the Trebia. On the ensuing morning, however, general Macdonald, who was supposed to have sustained a serious defeat, repassed the river, and attacked the allies in his turn with the utmost impetuosity. The whole space of country between the Trebia and the Tidone was strewed with the dying and the dead; and on all sides the carnage was terrible. In conclusion, Macdonald was a second time forced beyond the Trebia, after suffering great

Battle of  
the Trebia.

loss. The next day the French evacuated Piacenza; and, marching in two columns, the first, ascending the Val de Taro under general Victor, took the road of Sestri, and resumed its former position in the Lucchese territory, with a view to secure the passes of the Appennines on the side of Sarzana: and the other, commanded by Macdonald in person, took the route of Modena. When general Suwaroff was complimented upon his victory on the Trebia, he is said to have answered in the words of the monarch of Epirus, "Such another, and we are undone!"

During these operations general Moreau had advanced as far as Tortona, and, suddenly attacking the Austrians under general Bellegarde, drove them precipitately beyond the Bormida. After maintaining his position for some time, and finding that the plan of co-operation, concerted between himself and Macdonald, was frustrated, he retreated again about the end of June into the Ligurian territory. At this period intelligence was received of the surrender, on capitulation, of the citadel of Turin, which could no longer withstand the tremendous fire of 300 pieces of artillery mounted on the batteries against it. The allies now, therefore, at length found themselves masters of the whole country on this side the mountains; the strong fortress of Coni, and Genoa with its territory, alone excepted. Yet did not marshal

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799.  
General  
Macdonald  
takes re-  
fuge in the  
Genoese.

BOOK XXXI. Suwaroff escape the censure of military men, for suffering, in the face of that superior force of 1799. which he had the supreme command, the army of Naples to effect so extraordinary a retreat. Pressed by the Austrian generals Ott, Klenau, and Hohenzollern, general Macdonald determined to evacuate the Tuscan territory; and retiring to Lucca early in July, he sent off his heavy cannon under a strong escort to Leghorn, and began his march to the Genoese through the narrow and difficult defiles of Sarzana. General Klenau entered Florence on the 8th of July, and on the 16th Leghorn capitulated; an acquisition the more valuable, because that city contained the train of artillery and camp equipage of Macdonald, who with very diminished forces at length accomplished a junction with general Moreau. On the 22d of July the strong fortress of Alessandria surrendered to the Russians, the garrison being made prisoners of war. On the 28th of the same month the still more important fortress of Mantua, garrisoned by ten thousand men, was disgracefully surrendered to the Austrians under general Kray, by the commandant Latour Foisac, to the great indignation of the whole French nation; as it was known to be capable of a much longer and more vigorous resistance, and circumstances required that it should be defended to the last extremity. The generals Kray and Su-

Austrians  
take pos-  
session of  
Florence,  
and of Leg-  
horn.

Mantua  
surrenders  
to General  
Kray.

war off by the fall of Mantua, the investment of <sup>BOOK</sup>  
which had employed so great a force, regained <sup>XXXI.</sup>  
the entire and perfect liberty of action. <sup>1799.</sup>

No decisive or important engagement had taken place during this interval between the armies of the archduke and general Massena in Switzerland; on the eastern frontier of which country a second army of Russians arrived early in August, under the command of general Korsakof. Previous to their junction with the Austrians, general Massena made repeated attacks on the line of the Austrian posts, from Zurich to Mount St. Gotthard, not without considerable success; general Lecourbe particularly distinguishing himself, on this occasion as on many others, by his spirit of enterprise and activity. At length, the archduke being strengthened by the junction of the first <sup>Arrival of a</sup> second <sup>army of Rus-</sup> Russian columns at Schaffhausen, the temporary <sup>sians.</sup> triumphs of the French received an effectual check: and the balance of war was still doubtfully suspended.

In Italy, confined and almost besieged within the narrow space of the Genoese territory, bounded as well as defended by a continued range of mountains, the troops of the republic occupied the Bochetta and other principal passes. The chief command of the French army was now <sup>General</sup> transferred, by the caprice of the directory, from <sup>Joubert app-</sup> general Moreau to general Joubert, an officer of <sup>pointed</sup> <sup>successor</sup> <sup>to Moreau.</sup>

BOOK great merit, who, in assuming the exercise of his  
XXXI. functions, took occasion to express in the most  
1799. public manner the very high sense which he entertained of the talents of his predecessor; whom he generously invited to defer for some time his departure, in order that he might concert with him his future plan of operations. Moreau no less generously acceded to this proposal, and consented to act as a volunteer under the orders of Joubert; a rare instance, on both sides, of that true greatness of mind which rises superior to all petty and personal jealousies.

After reconnoitring the positions of the enemy, a resolution was taken by the two generals to march into the plains. In consequence of this determination, general Bellegarde's corps stationed at Trezzo was on the 15th of August vigorously attacked. At the same time general Joubert prepared to march in person along the right side of the Scrivia, while Moreau descended by the defiles of the Bochetta, in order to co-operate in raising the siege of the citadel of Tortona. General Suwaroff on his part, rightly conjecturing their design by the nature of these movements, resolved upon an immediate attack; which accordingly took place near the town of Novi very early in the morning of the 16th. The great and extensive plain of Piedmont is terminated at Novi by a very long ridge of hills, which rise so suddenly,

and are so steep, that the ascent is extremely difficult, though the height is not very great. Upon these hills the French lay strongly entrenched. The action was scarcely begun on the left of the enemy by general Kray, when general Joubert, eager to animate by his presence the charge of infantry, advancing too indiscreetly forward, was struck with a ball which pierced his heart, and he expired almost without a sigh, in the act of inciting by his exhortations and example his men to deeds of heroism. The French had, indisputably, the advantage in point of situation, but were greatly out-numbered by the combined forces of the allies. The two armies were engaged along the whole extent of their line. The slaughter was terrible, and no impression could be made on either side. Three times Suwaroff charged the centre of the enemy in person, at the head of his hardy veterans, and three times he was repulsed by the invincible valor of the French. Moreau, who again took upon him the command on the death of Joubert, was here opposed to Suwaroff; and, assisted by the generals St. Cyr and Desolles, achieved acts worthy of admiration. Meanwhile general Melas, with the left wing of the allies, reached the heights of Novi on the side of Pietalle, and, marching along the banks of the Scrivia, by unwearyed efforts at length completely succeeded in turning the right flank of the French

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799.

Joubert  
killed.

BOOK army. This manœuvre decided the victory. The  
XXXI. danger of being surrounded compelled the French  
1799. generals to abandon the field of battle to the  
allies; retreating with the loss of the greater  
part of their artillery, by way of Ovada. The  
rear-guard of their army suffered much in the at-  
tempt to cover this retreat, and night at length  
saved them from destruction. This was, perhaps,  
the most bloody action which had been fought in  
the course of the present horrid and destructive  
war. The loss on both sides, in killed and  
wounded, was very moderately estimated at twenty  
thousand men. The French retired once more  
within the line of their posts; and Suvaroff, leav-  
ing the generals Melas and Klenau to watch the  
motions of Moreau, ordered the troops under his  
own immediate command to Asti, in order to  
cover the siege of Coni, and to prevent, if pos-  
sible, the advance of general Championet, already  
on his march to succeed general Joubert, and who  
brought with him large reinforcements.

The situation of Genoa became every day more  
critical. General Championet had seized upon  
several important posts on the frontier of Pied-  
mont, particularly those of Tuile in the duchy of  
Aosta, and the strong pass of Suza; penetrating  
as far as Pignerol: but a junction with Moreau  
seemed still a matter of great difficulty. On  
the 11th of September the citadel of Tortona sur-

rendered to general Suwaroff, who was now, by <sup>BOOK</sup>  
an unexpected destination of his services, and in <sup>XXXI.</sup>  
consequence of a new arrangement of the im-  
perial courts, compelled to bid a reluctant and <sup>1799.</sup>  
everlasting adieu to Italy.

General  
Suwaroff  
departs  
from Italy.

The months of June and July passed away without any decisive advantage gained by either army in Switzerland. Massena, posted on Mount Albis, behind the Limmat, not only impeded the approach of the archduke beyond Zurich, but acquired, as already noticed, considerable advantages over the imperial army, previous to the arrival of the second Russian army under general Korsakof. In the interval the French had assem- <sup>Invasion of</sup>  
<sup>the Pala-</sup>  
<sup>tinate.</sup> bled a numerous body of forces on the Rhine under general Muller, who established his head quarters at Manheim, August the 25th; and after taking possession of Heidelberg and Frankfort, he in the beginning of September invested the city of Philipsburg. The archduke, alarmed at his progress, now resigned the command of the army in Switzerland to general Hotze, and crossed the Rhine with a very considerable force, destined for the relief of Philipsburg; and on the subsequent junction of this corps with the army of the empire, that martial and active prince found himself at the head of sixty thousand men. <sup>Repelled</sup>  
<sup>by the</sup>  
<sup>archduke.</sup> General Muller, unable to resist so great a superiority, on the approach of the archduke raised

BOOK the siege of Philipsburg, after an ineffectual bombardment of five days and nights, in which space  
XXXI. 1799. of time the town was nearly laid in ashes. The French retreated by the bridge of Manheim; and to guard the works of that important pass, they left a corps of about six thousand men under general La Roche. But the Austrians boldly attacked and carried the place by assault, the whole of the garrison being either cut to pieces or surrendering prisoners. The archduke was now master of both sides of the Maine, and pontoons were prepared for the purpose of passing the Rhine; while general Muller retired northward, with the view of covering the city of Mentz.

The plan which now appeared to be projected by the two imperial courts, consisted in forming in Switzerland, as the centre, a great Austro-Russian army under the orders of Suwaroff; on the left, in Italy, an Austrian and Italian army, commanded by the generals Kray and Melas; on the right, a third or imperial army under the archduke, who had with great success so far executed the part allotted to him. The first column of Russians, under general Rosenburg, began their march September 8, by Novarra, in order to pass the St. Gothard by Bellinzona. Upon the rear-guard of this column Moreau made a fierce attack, but was ultimately repulsed, and resumed immediately his former positions. Suwaroff him-

self, after taking a public and melancholy farewell <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 of the Austrian troops, his companions in danger <sup>XXXI.</sup>  
 and in victory, followed at the head of the second 1799.  
 column \*.

The grand object of the Austrian generals Kray and Melas, on the departure of Suvaroff, was to prevent the purposed junction of Moreau and Championet before Coni. The army of the latter being now so far advanced as to be almost insulated, was on the 18th of September attacked by the Austrian commanders near Fossano; general Bellegarde at the same time breaking through the chain of posts above Turin. This combined operation was attended with such success,

\* In a small tract written by count Dietrichstein Proskau, major-general in the Austrian service, and publicly circulated on the continent, that officer, in animadverting on the departure of the Russians from Italy after their glorious successes, asserts that "the court of Vienna assented to it upon the desire which the court of London had manifested to that of St. Petersburg, of seeing the Russian auxiliary troops of Italy, joined to the Russian army paid and maintained by England." "I acknowledge," says this intelligent officer, "that, in a military as well as political point of view, my weak discernment has never allowed me to perceive the advantage of replacing in the middle of a campaign, as one would relieve a sentinel, an Austrian army in Switzerland by a Russian one. I know that my court has no more conceived this than myself. It only consented to it through complaisance to its allies, and against its own opinion."

~~BOOK~~ that the major part of the French were obliged to  
~~XXXI.~~ retreat with considerable loss to Suza. General

~~1799.~~ Championet himself, nevertheless, repaired in  
 person to Genoa, to receive from the hands of  
 Moreau the command of the army of Italy.

General  
Champio-  
net assumes  
the com-  
mand in the  
room of  
Moreau.

First suc-  
cess of Su-  
waroff in  
Switzer-  
land.

Marshal Suwaroff had by this time made his dispositions to attack the passes of Mount St. Gothard; and, ascending the valley of the Levantine, in concert with the Austrian generals Aufenburg and Laudohn, to drive back Lecourbe, and, pressing forward upon Lucerne and Berne, to compel Massena to quit his position and pass the Aar, in order to secure his rear. General Le-courbe, encompassed on all sides, now found the necessity of hastily relinquishing those important posts which he had so long maintained, and the Russians extended themselves along the lake of Zurich. The army of Massena, occupying a chain of posts between the St. Gothard and Baden, was decidedly superior to the enemy, previous to the arrival of Suwaroff: and he resolved to avail himself of that superiority while it existed. On the 24th of September, therefore, this able commander issued orders for a division of the army to pass the Limmat, on the banks of which general Korsakoff's division lay encamped. A second division was at the same time directed to storm the heights on the west of Zurich, and a third to attack the advanced posts of the Aus-

Battle of  
Zurich.

trians on the Linthe. General Hotze, on the <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~BOOK~~  
 first alarm that the French had passed the <sup>XXXI.</sup>  
~~BOOK~~  
 Linthe, mounted his horse in order to reconnoitre the enemy; when his small party was <sup>1799.</sup>  
 suddenly surrounded, and that gallant officer, <sup>Death of  
General  
Hotze.</sup>  
 who possessed the most distinguished merit and talents, and was the object of universal esteem, enjoying also the entire confidence and affection of the soldiery, was slain in the very prime of life, almost within sight of the walls of Zurich; of which city he was himself a native. The <sup>Triumphs  
of General  
Massena.</sup>  
 Austrians, thrown into confusion by the loss of their commander, fell back precipitately towards Lichtenstein and St. Gall; by this means entirely separating themselves from the centre of the army. The attack against Zurich was no less successful. The Russians were driven from the heights with dreadful carnage, and the town was carried sword in hand. General Korsakoff, with the loss of his baggage and artillery, retreated by Bulach to Schaffhausen. The French pursuing their advantages in both directions, the allies were compelled to pass the Rhine, and to place the lake of Constance between them and the enemy.

Marshal Suwaroff, inflamed and enraged at the unexpected intelligence of this great and total defeat, wrote to general Korsakoff, " You shall answer with your head if you make another retrograde step: I am coming to repair your errors."

**BOOK XXXI.** The commander-in-chief had now penetrated, with extreme difficulty and incessant fighting, as far as Schwitz; and on the 4th of October he carried by assault the post of Brunnen, with the bridge over the Muten, after a desperate resistance on the part of Lecourbe. This was the last of his triumphs. Had he dared to push forward through the valley of Glaris, he would have found Massena at the head of a superior army, flushed with recent conquest; and he must have incurred the imminent hazard of being surrounded. He therefore indignantly quitted the cantons of Schwitz and Glaris; retreating with the Austrian divisions under Auffenberg and Jellachich, by the Flemstahl, into the valley of the Grisons. This retreat was not effected without immense labor and equal loss; the French pursuing close behind, harassing, and by reiterated attacks almost destroying the rear-guard, and taking great part of the heavy artillery and baggage, which Suwaroff, who exposed his person to every danger, had no means to carry off.

The generals Korsakoff and Petrasch had by this time ventured to repass the Rhine; but general Massena, passing from the right to the left of the French army, put himself at the head of the divisions before Zurich, and, charging the advanced columns of the allies, October the 7th, between the Thur and the Rhine, compelled them

Suwaroff  
retreats  
into the  
Grisons.

Battle of  
Zurich.

once more to seek for safety on the opposite bank <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 of the river. Seizing in this retreat the bridge <sup>XXXI.</sup>  
 of Constance, the French pressed vigorously upon <sup>1799.</sup>  
<sup>Battle of</sup> Constance.  
 the rear of the flying army, doing great execution  
 upon the Bavarian division and the corps of emi-  
 grants commanded by the prince of Condé, which  
 had attached itself to this army. The Austrian  
 general Bauér, nevertheless, recovered the bridge,  
 and the French were checked in the midst of the  
 pursuit; but after reiterated efforts the city of  
 Constance, said to be three times lost and won,  
 remained in possession of the republicans.

For the space of fifteen days, no intermission  
 or scarcely remission of hostilities had taken place;  
 in which dreadful interval it was computed that  
 not less than thirty thousand men on both sides  
 had fallen victims to the devouring rage of the  
 sword, which still thirsted for human blood.

As soon as the archduke received intelligence <sup>Return of</sup>  
 of the death of Hotze, and the subsequent reverse <sup>the arch-</sup>  
 of fortune in Switzerland, he relinquished his pro-  
 ject of crossing the Rhine, and set out imme-  
 diately on his march with the greater part of his  
 troops to the southward; leaving only a sufficient  
 force to cover Manheim and Philipsburg. At  
 Donaueschingen, October 4, he held a grand coun-  
 cil of war; a few days after which, the Austrian  
 army re-entered Switzerland. Subsequent to his  
 departure, general Muller, again passing the Rhine,

BOOK recovered Frankfort, and dispersed the levies of  
XXXI. armed peasantry, which by the late movements  
1799. were left nearly destitute of military support.

The Russians were now rapidly retiring from the field of action. General Korsakoff, with the chief part of his troops, filed off by the lake of Constance; and on the other side, marshal Suwaroff, who had for a time established his headquarters at Coire, marched to Feldkirch, uniting the cordon on the right side of the lake, and joining at Lindau the different divisions of his army; more than one third of which had been unavailingly sacrificed, by the caprice of a barbarous despot, in a distant clime and foreign quarrel, far from their friends, their families, and native home. After efforts so prodigious, the armies on both sides, being almost equally exhausted, were forced to a sort of suspension of hostilities, and waited in silent and motionless expectation the arrival of further reinforcements, in order to renew these horrid scenes of carnage, death, and desolation.

Declar-a-  
tion of the  
Emperor  
Paul.

In the midst of the rejoicings of the court of Petersburg, at the news of the first successes of Suwaroff, the emperor Paul, indignant that the Germanic states were not universally actuated by the same furious zeal with himself, in support of the same cause, issued an official notification, dated from Petersburg, September 15, and addressed to all the members of the Germanic empire, in

which he represented, "that, having been constantly animated with zeal for the cause of sovereigns, and desirous of putting an end to the devastations and disorders carried into the most distant countries by the impious government under which France groaned in silence, he had taken the firm resolution of sending his forces by sea and land to succour the oppressed; to re-establish, without suffering the least division, the monarchy of France; the ancient governments of the United Provinces and the Helvetic cantons; to preserve the integrity of the Germanic empire; and find his recompense in the happiness and tranquillity of Europe. Providence had blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops had triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order: and he invites all the members of the German empire to unite their forces with his and rally round him; in which case he will not sheath his sword till he has seen the downfall of the monster which threatens to crush all legal authorities." But scarcely could this boastful declaration be received by those to whom it was addressed, before the victories of which it spoke were changed to mournful reverses and disastrous defeats.

At the beginning of the month of November the opposite armies found themselves nearly in the same positions which they had occupied six

BOOK

XXXI.

1799.

BOOK months before. The archduke fixed his head  
XXXI. quarters at Schaffhausen and Donaueschingen, and  
1799. general Massena resumed his former situation at  
Suwaroff Basle. Suwaroff, who had assembled his army  
evacuates in the vicinity of Lindau, now fell back to Mem-  
the Gris- mingen. Coire, and the other posts held by  
sons. him in the Grisons, were evacuated. But the  
Austrian general Linken, successor to Hotze,  
still occupied the Voralberg, and by means of the  
post of Mayenfield kept up his communication  
with Feldkirch.

No sooner was the retreat of the Russians de-  
cided, than the archduke, resolving to rest on the  
defensive in Switzerland, detached all the troops  
which could be collected in Carinthia and the  
Tyrol, to reinforce the generals Melas and Kray.  
Melas had already formed the investment of the  
important and hitherto impregnable fortress of  
Coni, while Kray commanded the covering army,  
and Klenau was still engaged in the distant block-  
ade of Genoa. General Championet, determining  
at length to make one great effort for the relief  
of Coni, meditated the project of cutting off the  
right wing of the Austrians on the side of Genola;  
for which purpose he previously made a succession  
of false attacks on the left. But general Melas,  
penetrating his design, had strengthened the posts  
in danger; when on the 4th of November the two  
armies made their respective dispositions for a

general engagement. Both French and Austrians BOOK XXXI.  
fought on this occasion, as on so many others,  
with heroic bravery. Exclusively of the respective  
commanders in chief, Grenier, Victor, and Riche-  
panse, on the part of the former, and Ott, Mi-  
trowski, and Elnitz, on that of the latter, particu-  
larly distinguished themselves. The charges on  
both sides were furious, and firmly sustained. Nei-  
ther could gain, nor would either yield the advan-  
tage. At length the column of Grenier, overborne  
by superior numbers, combined with equal valor,  
was broken by the efforts of general Ott; and  
the whole French army, falling consequently into  
irretrievable confusion, were forced back on Val-  
dizzio. And being again attacked in the after-  
noon of the same day by general Melas, in  
his new position, general Championet retired with  
great additional loss to Contala, which he aban-  
doned in the night, leaving Coni to its own de-  
fence, after sacrificing eight thousand men in this  
bold but unavailing attempt.

On the other side, general Kray had given a  
severe check to the French under general St. Cyr,  
on his march to join general Championet, com-  
pelling him to retreat beyond the mountains of  
Novi. Intelligence was at the same time re-  
ceived of the surrender of the important maritime  
town of Ancona, which had been for some months  
blocked up by a squadron of the Russian and  
Surrender  
of Ancona.

~~BOOK~~ <sup>XXXI.</sup> Turkish ships by sea, and a body of Austrians under general Frolich by land; joined by a numerous corps of insurgents. The commander, general Monnier, capitulated to general Frolich, who took possession of the place in the name of the emperor of Germany only: a procedure which gave great offence, when reported to the court of St. Petersburg.

The trenches were now open in form before Coni, and nineteen batteries, mounted with two hundred pieces of heavy artillery, kept up a tremendous fire on that fortress. A bomb accidentally falling on a powder magazine, set it on fire, and blew up a redoubt. The flames continued to spread, and the incessant explosion of bombs and shells left no hope of extinguishing them. The French commandant despairing of assistance, and finding no advantage in prolonging a defence which must necessarily terminate in the destruction of the place, determined to submit, and in the evening of the 2d of January (1800) a capitulation was signed, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. Thus Coni, justly reputed the key of Piedmont, fell into the possession of the Austrians, and the Ligurian territory was all that now remained of the French conquests in Italy.

The history of the naval naturally succeeds to that of the military transactions of this ever me-

Surrender  
of Coni.

morable year. At the termination of the last campaign, the fleets of Britain rode everywhere triumphant; at the commencement of the present, the ports of France, Spain, and Holland, were completely blockaded, and the harbour of Brest in particular was vigilantly watched by lord Bridport, who commanded a powerful squadron in the channel. Preparations, however, had been long making by the French, with a view to some maritime expedition: and a sudden gale of wind compelling the English admiral to quit his station before Brest for a single day, the French commander, Brueys, took immediate advantage of his absence, by standing out to sea with a fleet, consisting, as it subsequently appeared, of no less than twenty-five ships of the line, four of them carrying more than one hundred guns each, accompanied by eight frigates, besides smaller vessels. The next day lord Bridport, whose force was far inferior, resumed his station; but hearing that the French fleet had sailed, and not being able, in the thick fog which happened at that time to envelop both squadrons, to learn what direction they had taken, he deemed it expedient to make sail for Ireland, as the part most obvious to attack, and most important to defend. But the object of the French was to form a junction with the Spanish fleet at Cartagena, which was skilfully and successfully effected. As soon as

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799.

Junction of  
the French  
and Spanish  
Fleets.

BOOK the destination of admiral Brueys was ascertained.  
XXXI. ~~BOOK~~, great reinforcements were sent with all imaginable expedition to lord St. Vincent in the Mediterranean; and the fleet commanded by lord Bridport being also considerably strengthened, the two British admirals could muster together a prodigious force of sixty sail of the line, to which the French and Spaniards could not, with any chance of success, oppose their united squadrons. But the same fortune which had from the first governed this dangerous attempt, brought them in safety from Carthagena to the road of Cadiz: and notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the English commanders, and to the great disappointment of the nation, they ultimately re-entered (July 21) the harbour of Brest, to the number of forty-seven sail of the line; without sustaining the slightest injury, or even coming within sight of an English ship.

The counter-revolution at Naples was followed, after a very short interval, by the fall of the newly established Roman republic. It is necessary to premise, that the infirm and aged pontiff had, on the first success of the allied arms in Italy, been removed, by order of the Gallic directory, from Florence, across the Appennines and Alps, to Briançon, whence, on the alarm caused by the approach of Suwaroff to the frontier of France, he was again transferred to Valence. Here he oc-

cupied the beautiful suite of apartments belonging to the ancient commandant of that fortress under the monarchy. Again he seemed to enjoy something of repose; the fine gardens, and delightful scenery of the surrounding country, affording him much apparent pleasure. He divided his time chiefly between his books and his devotions, with occasional exercise; but he slept little, and his health visibly declined. It being declared to him, that it was in contemplation of the directory to remove him to Dijon, he exclaimed with emotion, "Why will they not let me die in peace?" The truth, perhaps unknown to the pontiff, was, that Valence was deemed too near to Avignon, at that period in a state of insurrection. From this time, the agitation of his mind preyed rapidly on his frail and feeble frame. He was soon after seized with a partial paralysis; and his end visibly approaching, it was deemed needless to incur the odium of disturbing his dying moments. Religion, of which he had been accused of loving too much the exterior pomp, became now the sole consolation of his sorrows. He expired tranquilly and serenely on the 29th of August (1799), in the 82d year of his age, and 24th of his pontificate. His remains were embalmed, and deposited in a leaden coffin, with all external marks of respect, in the presence of the municipality of Valence.

BOOK  
XXXI.

1799.

Death of  
Pius VI.

BOOK  
XXXI.

A month had scarcely elapsed from the death of Pius VI., ere his late seat of government was rescued from the dominion of his oppressors.

<sup>Investment</sup>  
<sup>of Rome.</sup> The fortune of the campaign had produced the same effects in the Roman republic as in other parts of Italy. Macdonald, in his retreat from Naples, had left at Rome about 3500 French, including all descriptions, civil and military. The defeat of the republican army on the Trebia was the signal of insurrection in the Roman state, as well as at Naples. On the approach of the insurgents at the beginning of August, every part of the government appeared in a state of disorganisation. The treasury was empty of money, the magazines of arms: and the city was totally unprepared for an event so unlooked for as a siege. In the present state of things it was deemed necessary to suspend the consulate, and to proclaim military law. The numbers of the insurgents, aided by reinforcements from Naples and Tuscany, continually increased. General Garnier, the commandant, made two successive sallies, but was driven back with loss. He determined, nevertheless, to defend the city to the last extremity.

The post of Frescati being that from which the inhabitants were most annoyed, the Roman national guard, headed by the princes Santa Croce and Borghese, joining themselves to the

French; a third attack was resolved upon (August 20), which was attended with great success, ~~the intrenchments at that place being forced;~~ <sup>BOOK XXXI.</sup> ~~1799.~~ and twenty pieces of cannon, with other trophies of war, testified the triumph of the victors. This, however, was of no essential service. The post of Frescati was soon re-occupied; different divisions of Austrian and Russian troops approached the city, and an English squadron blocked up the port of Civita Vecchia, and summoned Rome to surrender. A council of war being held, it was determined to enter into a negotiation with the English, who proposed the same capitulation as had taken place at Gaeta. The British squadron was under the direction of commodore Trowbridge; an officer of the highest reputation. In consequence of the positive instructions he received from Naples, the British commander was obliged to make a formal demand of the French governor, to deliver up the Neapolitan patriots who had fled for refuge to Rome. General Garnier nobly answered, "that he would never consent to an action so unworthy; but that the French would rather sacrifice their own lives with those of their friends."

The first name on the fatal list happened to be that of the princess de Belmonte; and when the determination of the French commandant was made known to the commodore, he is said

**BOOK** to have signified very intelligibly his high <sup>XXXI.</sup> ~~probation~~ of it. He knew what had passed at ~~probation~~ Naples. He felt how, paramount to all orders or instructions, was the honor and dignity of a British soldier. “ I never will become the executioner of the vengeance of the queen of Naples ! ” was the indignant declaration of this gallant officer. This being perfectly understood, a capitulation was signed 6th Vindemiaire, (Sept. 27); conformably to the articles of which, ROME and its dependencies, for the first time since the foundation of that famous capital of the world, surrendered to the arms of BRITAIN :—an event than which, had the awful book of destiny been laid open to the view of the Julian or Augustan age, nothing more calculated to excite amazement could have occurred in all its records.

Rome surrenders to the arms of Great Britain.

The twelfth and other concurrent articles of the treaty of capitulation imported, that “ such citizens of Rome as shall now form, or have heretofore formed, a part of the constituted authorities of the Roman republic ; and *those also* who shall have served the republican cause by their patriotic works, or taken up arms for that purpose, shall be at liberty to depart with their property at the same time with the French troops, and on the same terms as they do.” And by other articles it was agreed, “ that transports should

be provided by the English commander, and <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 victualled, for the conveyance of the above de- <sup>XXXI.</sup>  
 scriptions of persons to Villa Franca, Antibes,  
 or Toulon; and that such Romans as choose to  
 remain, shall suffer no molestation." The last  
 article even expressly stipulates, "in case of  
 any difficulty arising with respect to the in-  
 terpretation of the articles of this convention,  
 that such articles shall be explained in favor of  
 the French and their allies."

During the transient existence of the Nea-  
 politan republic, the duke of Cansano had been  
 sent as ambassador to Rome, and many other  
 Neapolitans of high rank were also resident in  
 that city at the period of its investment. Even <sup>Generosity</sup>  
 previous to its surrender, the English commander <sup>of the Bri-</sup>  
 took an anxious interest in the fate of these un-  
 fortunate exiles. He precipitated their depa-  
 ture from the port of Civita Vecchia; and, on  
 their being unavoidably forced back to that place,  
 commodore Trowbridge, inflexible in his hu-  
 manity, again enabled the vessel to put to sea,  
 and the proscribed fugitives were at length happily  
 landed at Toulon. In return, they paid him--and  
 it was all they could pay--those grateful tears of  
 admiration which are shed over noble deeds.  
 Thus the honor of the British name was vin-  
 dicated; and the world, as in other and better

BOOK times, saw that it did not without reason aspire  
XXXI. to a rivalship with that of ancient Rome.

1799: Civita Vecchia, Corneto, Tolsa, and the other maritime places in the Roman state, were put into possession of the English immediately on signing the articles of the capitulation: and in forty-eight hours afterwards, general Boucard, with a regular Neapolitan force, was admitted into the city of Rome, and occupied the castle of St. Angelo; the French garrison marching out at the same time with all the honors of war. No sooner was the Neapolitan flag hoisted, than the trees of liberty were cut down and burnt, and the arms of the republic destroyed. Seals were affixed to the apartments of the Quirinal and Vatican palaces, and the offices of the republic; and some excesses were committed by the mob, who carried about, in derision, the bust of Brutus, so lately the object of veneration. But all the articles of the convention, concluded under the sanction of the British commander, were strictly and religiously executed.

## BOOK XXXII.

*EXPEDITION to Holland. Surrender of the Dutch naval Force. Successive Victories of the Duke of York. Convention of the Helder. State of St. Domingo. Capture of Surinam. Situation of France. Changes in the Directory. Law of Hostages passed. Jacobin Meetings suppressed. Fatal Consequences of the Law of Hostages. Transactions in Egypt. Capture of El Arisch. General Bonaparte enters Palestine. Capture of Gaza—and of Jaffa. French Army encamps on Mount Carmel. Siege of Acre. Train of battering Artillery intercepted by Sir Sydney Smith. Heroic Defence of Acre. Turkish Army assembles at Damascus. Complete Victory of Bonaparte over the Turks. Unsuccessful Assault of Acre. Siege of Acre raised. Return of Bonaparte to Grand Cairo. Victory over the Turks at Aboukir. Bonaparte departs for France. His Arrival at Paris. Engages with Sieyes in the Design of subverting the existing Government. Dissolution of the Directorial Constitution. Establishment of the Consular Government. Consular Constitution delineated. General Bonaparte declared First Consul. Renewal of the Negotiation with America. Death of General Washington. Embarrassments of the Senate of Hamburg. Haughty Conduct of the Emperor Paul—His Manifesto against Spain. He assumes the Title of Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Prince of Brasil declares himself Regent of Portugal. Transactions in India. Tippoo Sultaun's Intrigues with the French at Mauritius. Earl of Mornington appointed Governor-General of India. Tippoo Sultaun's secret Negotiations with the King*

*of Candahar—and with the French Directory—also at the Courts of Poonah and Hyderabad. His deceitful Professions of Friendship to the English Government. Discreet Conduct of Lord Mornington. The Company's Forces assemble at Vellore. The Governor-General's energetic Remonstrance to Tippoo Sultaun. Systematic Dissimulation of the Sultaun. Attempts to excite the Ottoman Porte against the English. The Governor-General declares War against the Sultaun of Mysore. Successes of the English Army. Investment of Seringapatam. The Sultaun sues in vain for Peace—His Rage and Despair. Seringapatam taken by Storm. Heroic Death of the Sultaun. Partition of his Dominions. Ancient royal House of Mysore restored. Death of Kien Long, Emperor of China.*

**B O O K**  
XXXII. **I**N the grand plan of military operations, concerted between the confederate courts, for the present year, it was determined that Great Britain should attempt a powerful diversion of the French arms, by the actual invasion of Holland, aided by a body of about twenty thousand auxiliaries, to be furnished by Russia, exclusive of the force employed by the emperor Paul in Italy and Switzerland. Though apparently of the utmost consequence that this expedition should be undertaken at an early period of the campaign, it was not till the month of June (1799) that preparations began to be made at Yarmouth and Southampton. Instead of aiming at or even pretending secrecy, it was publicly known, and indeed ostentatiously announced, that Holland was the object in view;

1799.  
Expedition  
to Holland.

and the duke of York, who had displayed such extraordinary military talents during the late continental campaigns, was appointed commander-in-chief on the present occasion.

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The first division, under general sir Ralph Abercrombie, an officer of great reputation and experience, sailed from the Downs early in August; and the second division, commanded by the duke of York in person, lay at Margate, and other adjacent places, in order to follow as soon as intelligence was received of the safe arrival of the former. These two divisions were composed of 30 battalions of infantry, besides cavalry and artillery, making, in conjunction with the Russians, an army of forty-five or fifty thousand men. The Dutch government had not been inert in preparing the means of defence and resistance. Their naval force, consisting of nine ships of the line and a great number of frigates, under the command of admiral Story, who had saved himself by an early flight from the battle off Camperdown, lay at anchor in the inner channel of the Texel. Their military did not exceed twenty thousand men; to which must be added about fifteen thousand French veterans under general Brune, the exigencies of the times not allowing the directory to maintain a larger force in these provinces.

The winds were adverse till near the end of August; when the English fleet, commanded by

~~BOOK XXXII.~~ lord Duncan, anchored near the mouth of the Texel. On the morning of the 27th, general Aber-

1799. crombie landed his whole force, under its protection, near the Helder point. Scarcely were the English troops formed, when the Dutch under general Daendals charged them with great spirit, and a sharp engagement ensued, in which the English, by the official account, lost near five hundred men. Late, however, in the evening, the garrison of the fort, consisting of about two thousand national troops, was withdrawn, and the English took possession of the works next morning. This was but a prelude to the great success which followed. On the 30th of August, the passage being now entirely opened to the Texel, vice-admiral Mitchell summoned the whole Dutch navy, lying near the Vlieter, to surrender to the prince of Orange; allowing them "one hour to submit, or take the consequences." In less than that time an answer was returned, that they submitted according to the summons. "The traitors," says admiral Story, "whom I commanded refused to fight; and nothing remains to me, and my brave officers, but vain rage and the dreadful reflexion of our present situation. I therefore deliver over to you the fleet which I commanded, and declare myself, and my officers, prisoners of war."

Surrender  
of the  
Dutch na-  
val force.

General Abercrombie, now waiting for re-in-

forcements, entrenched himself on the peninsula of the Helder, and general Brune directed his march, at the head of his collected force, by Haerlem to Alkmaer, where he arrived September 2. But, what was infinitely more discouraging, the spirit of determined resistance everywhere displayed itself. In every village the citizens took arms; the requisitions of the government were answered, not by a cold and formal compliance, but with an emulation of eagerness; and multitudes offered themselves on all sides, as volunteers, to join the army in North Holland. On the 10th of September, at day-break, a fierce attack was made by the united army of French and Batavians on the English intrenchments: but they were everywhere repulsed; "owing," says the English commander in his official dispatches, "to the strength of our position, and the determined courage of the troops." About ten o'clock the enemy retired to Alkmaer; and this advantage was, by credulous presumption, regarded as a second decided victory over the Dutch.

On the very day this engagement took place, the duke of York sailed from Yarmouth with the second division of troops, and was soon followed by the greater part of the Russian armament under the command of generals Herman and Essen. During these operations, the hereditary prince of Orange had made a feeble

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**BOOK XXXII.** attack on the frontier of the province of Overysel, summoning the fortress of Coverden, and 1799. dispersing his proclamations and manifestoes. But not the least discernible effect was produced, nor the slightest movement excited. At length, on the approach of the national guards of Arnhem and Oldenrad, the little army of the prince hastily separated; and on receiving intelligence of the capture of the Dutch fleet, he himself embarked at Embden, to join the army of the duke of York.

On the 19th of September, nearly all the forces destined for this expedition having arrived, it was determined to commence offensive operations; and two hours before day a general attack on the lines of general Brune, before Alkmaer, was made in four columns, with a view to flank both wings of the enemy. General Abercrombie was previously detached to occupy the post of Hoorn, in order to take the Dutch, who constituted the right wing, in the rear; and general Herman made an impetuous assault on the front and left of the line. The French gave way: but the Russian column, advancing too far, found itself in extreme danger of being surrounded; and the village of Bergen, which was for some time occupied by the Russians, was recovered by general Vandamme at the point of the bayonet. Not receiving the support they expected from the

commander-in-chief, they were in the end, and after fighting with the greatest obstinacy, destroyed rather than defeated; general Herman himself being made prisoner, and Essen dangerously wounded.

The right wing of the Batavian army, commanded by general Daendals, was opposed to the English, and, having stood firm till past midday, was at length compelled to a retreat; but rallying towards the close of the engagement, general Daendals recovered several of the batteries which he had lost. The total discomfiture of the Russians obliged the duke of York to withdraw his left; and general Abercrombie also evacuating the post of Hoorn during the night, the two armies resumed their former positions. This bloody battle, which lasted from three in the morning to five in the afternoon, cost the allied army of British and Russians, by the official returns, avowedly incomplete, not less than two thousand five hundred men. Other accounts made the loss far greater; and not an inch of ground had been gained by the present *victory*; being the third obtained over the enemy in the space of about as many weeks. But it must, in justice, be acknowledged, that the duke of York was not a general easily discouraged; for, in his public letter to Mr. secretary Dundas on this occasion, he says, "I have much consolation in

BOOK  
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1799.

BOOK being able to state, that the efforts which have  
XXXII. been made, although not crowned with success,  
1799. so far from militating against the general object  
of the campaign, promise to be highly useful  
to our future operations." A paradox which  
seemed to defy all solution.

From the day of the battle of Bergen, nothing of importance passed for almost a fortnight. The channel of the Amstel was by this time rendered impassable to ships of war, and the inhabitants of Amsterdam had completely recovered from their first alarms. The two armies, continuing to intrench themselves in their opposite positions, became every day more formidable to each other. But as this was not precisely the way in which Holland was to be conquered, the royal commander resolved, October 2, upon another general attack. This was directed chiefly against the village of Bergen, situated between sand-hills extending to the sea, and extensive woods through which passes the great road to Haerlem. The columns of the English, commanded by generals Abercrombie and Dundas, after a most gallant resistance, forced the posts of Egmont and Bergen. The centre of the French and Batavian army was also broken; and general Brune thought it expedient to take a new and still stronger position than the former, at Beverwick, three leagues only from Haerlem. This fourth

victory was attended with the serious loss of <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 above two thousand men; but on the next day <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
 the British army took triumphant possession of <sup>1799.</sup>  
 Alkmaer. The hopes of the commander-in-chief <sup>Successive  
victories of  
the duke of  
York.</sup>  
 now became very sanguine. "I entertain no  
 doubt," says his royal highness in his official di-  
 dispatch, "that the extent of country which will  
 now be under the protection of the allied army,  
 and rescued from French tyranny, will afford an  
 opportunity to its loyal inhabitants of declaring  
 themselves."

On the 6th of October the duke found it neces-  
 sary to renew his attack, to use his own words,  
 "before the enemy had an opportunity of  
 strengthening by works the short and very de-  
 fensible line which he occupied; and to oblige  
 him still further to retire before he could be joined  
 by the re-inforcements which were upon their  
 march." At first little opposition was shown,  
 and the English and Russians succeeded in tak-  
 ing possession of the villages of Limmen, Bac-  
 cum, &c. But the enemy gradually advancing  
 their whole force, the action became general along  
 the whole line from Limmen to the sea, and was  
 maintained with great obstinacy on both sides  
 till night; when the enemy retired, leaving the  
 allies masters of the field of battle. Such at least  
 is the flattering relation of the royal commander.  
 The French accounts, on the contrary, state that

BOOK general Brune, who greatly distinguished himself  
XXXII. on this occasion by his personal exertions, and

1799. who had two horses killed under him, charging at the head of his cavalry, broke the line of English and Russians, and drove them, from their several positions, beyond Baccum. The loss of the allies, in this fifth engagement, was no less than two thousand five hundred and fifty-five men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and in consequence of this rapid series of victories, the situation of the victors became extremely critical. From the prisoners taken in the last battle, the duke of York learned "the certainty of the enemy's having been reinforced, since the action of the 2d, by six thousand infantry; and of their having strengthened the position of Beverwick, and fortified strongly, in the rear of it, points which it would still be necessary to carry before Haerlem could be attacked. The enemy had also retired a large force upon Purmirind, which, as the allied army advanced, would be placed in the rear. Such obstacles," however, the duke declares, "would have been overcome, had not the state of the weather, the ruined condition of the roads, and the total want of the necessary supplies, presented difficulties which required the most serious consideration." Having maturely weighed the "difficulties" in which the army was thus placed, the duke, after holding a council of war, deter-

mined to turn his victorious back upon the foe, <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~XXXII.~~ <sup>1799.</sup> deeming it, to adopt again his own words, “ for the benefit of the general cause, to withdraw the troops from their advanced position, in order to wait his majesty’s further instructions.” That the safety of the allied army required this retrograde movement, no possible doubt can be entertained: but how this retreat, which evidently amounted to an absolute abandonment of their object, could possibly conduce to “ the benefit of the general cause,” or in any degree promote the success of it, is another paradox which no common sagacity can hope to explain.

The English and Russians now evacuated in succession the different posts they had occupied, and concentrated their strength in their intrenchments within the Helder point. Alkmaer and Hoorn were again taken possession of by the French army, who in a manner invested the English camp. In the face of this army it would have been very hazardous to have attempted a re-embarkation. On the other hand, the English had it in their power to devastate the country by breaking down the dykes. In this situation, it was the mutual interest of both to avoid extremities. The duke of York had indeed declared, that his intention in withdrawing his troops was to wait his majesty’s orders; but his situation was too critical to allow him to wait long. In a few

**BOOK XXXII.** days subsequent to his arrival at the Helder, he sent a flag of truce to general Brune, proposing an immediate agreement on the basis of an armistice, or of the free retreat and re-embarkation of his army. This proposition was regarded by general Brune as much too favorable to the allies; but a negotiation in consequence taking place, on the 18th of October a convention was signed, the leading articles of which imported that “the combined English and Russian army shall embark as soon as possible, without committing any devastation by inundations, cutting the dykes, or otherwise injuring the sources of navigation; and that eight thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, shall be restored, without conditions, to their respective countries.”

The duke of York, in the dispatch which transmitted the intelligence of this humiliating convention, modestly acknowledged “that he had from day to day additional reason to apprehend that any attempt towards a prosecution of the campaign in this country could not be attended with *decisive* advantages.” And his royal highness, on the consideration of circumstances, was pleased to express his “*conviction* that the most advisable measure to pursue was to remove with the army to England—resting confident that he shall have the satisfaction of knowing that his

Conven-  
tion of the  
Helder.

conduct in not waiting for previous instructions from home has met with his majesty's gracious approbation."

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Thus ended this memorable expedition, which aimed at no less than the entire subversion of the Batavian republic, but which only served to consolidate the new government, to add another garland to the Gallic laurels, and to display in the most striking colors the detestation which pervaded the Dutch nation of the serene house of Orange, and of all those who by force attempted the re-establishment of the stadholderate. The facility, nevertheless, with which the court of London, and the zealous partisans of that court, expected to accomplish the purposes of this rash and unadvised expedition, is scarcely credible. "To an army of forty-five thousand men," says one of the most respectable of the government writers, "full of emulation, from the general to the last soldier, to a squadron commanding the Zuyder Sea, to the support which there are hopes of obtaining from a great portion of the inhabitants, and to the ancient and unalterable attachment of the Dutch regular troops to the stadholder, what do the Batavian directory, the revolutionary faction, and their extravagant guardians on the banks of the Seine, oppose? About twenty thousand French, commanded by a *printer's boy* of Limosin; by that Brune who juggled

~~BOOK~~  
~~XXXII.~~ and pillaged Switzerland; who received his mi-  
litary and political education in the tennis courts  
1799. of the French revolution \*." When such was the language applauded by the English court, who could wonder at the repeated disappointments which, in the course of seven campaigns, had equally amazed its ignorance and confounded its pride?

~~State of St.~~  
~~Domingo.~~ The commercial relations of France with other countries, and even with its own colonies, were rendered extremely difficult, from the great naval superiority of Britain. The island of St. Domingo still displaying indications of a disposition to independence, general Hedouville had been sent out by the directory as governor of that great colony, and with a view efficaciously to re-establish the authority of the mother country. But finding Toussaint in possession of all the real power of government, he in a short time returned to France, after in vain inviting the people to rally round the constitutional act. Immediately on his departure, in the autumn of 1798, Toussaint sent his own aide-de-camp with dispatches for the directory, recriminating on Hedouville, asserting his attachment to France, and trusting that St. Domingo, "delivered from the dangers to which it had been exposed, would continue its progress under the protection of constitutional

\* Vide British Mercury, by M. Mallet du Pan, September 30.

laws, and the auspices of that liberty which it had obtained." This negro chief had in a wonderful manner succeeded in restoring tranquillity, and even a considerable degree of prosperity, to this invaluable colony. He was for a time strongly opposed by general Rigaud, another native chief, who had great influence in the southern departments of the island ; and some bloody encounters had during the present year taken place between them, to the disadvantage of Rigaud ; when an order, rendered necessary by the actual state of things, was received from the directory, appointing Toussaint sole governor of St. Domingo, and the peace of the island was at once restored.

In the month of August (1799) Surinam, the last and generally considered as the most valuable of the Dutch colonies on the continent of South America, submitted to a small squadron of ships of war in those seas, commanded by lord Hugh Seymour, without making any attempt at resistance. Another possession was thus added to those Atlantean conquests which have so invariably proved the bane of the victors ; and where pestilence suspends perpetually, and by a single hair, over the votaries of avarice and sensuality, the fatal sword of death.

From the detail of a campaign upon the whole very disastrous to France, it is necessary to revert to her internal and domestic situation, which,

*Situation  
of France.*

BOOK as the summer advanced, seemed fast approaching  
XXXII. to some great crisis. The subversion of the direc-

1799. torial constitution had long been meditated; but any mode of execution, free from desperate hazard, had not yet presented itself. The liberty of the press, it must be remembered, had been put under the *special protection* of the directory, by an article of the law of the famous 19th Fructidor. The council of five hundred now ventured to declare, that great abuses had been committed, under this pretext, by the agents of those in power, who were thus secured against all denunciations. On the motion of Boulay de la Meurthe, once the zealous defender of the directory, a message was sent to the executive government, importing, that in the present alarming crisis the council expected such communications as were prescribed by the constitution. An address to the people of France was also, on the motion of François de Nantes, published at the same time; which was regarded as an appeal to the nation against the usurpation and despotism of the executive power. The directory saw the storm gathering round their heads. The tide of public opinion had set strongly against them; and any fresh violence practised against the councils, would, in all probability, only serve to hasten their own ruin. The vengeance of the opposition, of which Sieyes was considered as the head,

appeared to be levelled against the three directors, Merlin, Lepeaux, and Treilhard; for Barras, <sup>B O O K  
XXXII.</sup> <sup>1799.</sup> deeming it safest to second the views of Sieyes, had already made his peace with the leaders of the opposition; who also carried on a secret and confidential intercourse with the chiefs of the military stationed in and near the metropolis.

On the 15th of June (1799) the council, not having received any reply to the message, declared itself permanent, and appointed a special commission, invested with extraordinary powers, and consisting of eleven members. The director Treilhard being a man of a mild disposition, equally unfit and unwilling to engage in those scenes of violence which seemed approaching, a pretext was found to remove him from the directorial office. The thirteenth article of the constitution stated, that no member of the legislative body can be elected into the directory, either during the time of his legislative functions, or during the year which follows the expiration of his functions. Now Treilhard, having been chosen director 26 Floreal, 6th year, it was opportunely discovered that four days were wanting to complete the intervening year. Treilhard instantly, and with apparent eagerness, acknowledged the violation, and abdicated his office. The vacancy was filled by Gohier, president of the tribunal of revision, and

BOOK the council now possessed a majority of votes  
XXXII. even at the directorial board.

1799. It was next proposed to pass a decree of accusation against the two refractory directors, Merlin and Lepeaux: but, first, a deputation was sent from the council to invite them to give in their resignations. After some high language this compromise was adopted, and the two directors quitted the Luxemburg amid the execrations of the people. In their room the choice of the legislature fell on two very obscure and insignificant persons, Roger Ducos and Moulins, who were supposed less likely, than others of higher consequence, to dispute or oppose the will of Sieyes. A report from the committee of eleven was presented by François de Nantes, containing a strong and well drawn picture of the late directorial government; many of the instruments of which were formally denounced, particularly Scherer, who had fled from the combined vengeance of the law and the people. General Bernadotte succeeded as minister of war: and Scherer, to the general astonishment and indignation, as has been before related, was promoted to the command of the army of Italy.

On the 26th of June the new directory sent a message to the council, enumerating the disorders and necessities of the state, and inviting the

council to adopt the most speedy and effectual measures for warding off from the political body the dissolution with which it was threatened. In consequence of this message, a general levy of conscripts was decreed, and a coercive loan of one hundred millions. A second address to the French nation was also published, inviting them to co-operate with their representatives in the arduous and necessary work of political regeneration. The general ferment rose to such a height, that, notwithstanding the tacit engagement of impunity, the council was virtually compelled to pass a vote that there was room for accusation against the four ex-directors, Merlin, Lepeaux, Reubel, and Treilhard. The violent party, even after carrying this point, were by no means satisfied; and the jacobins, to whom Sieyes had ever been odious, and who had again been permitted to hold their assemblies, began to include him also in their daily and nightly denunciations. His famous declaration at the time of the flight of Louis to Varennes, respecting the superior eligibility of a pyramid to a platform of government, was revived; his secret negotiations at Berlin animadverted upon; and every art put in practice to represent him as a concealed royalist. In the midst of the general agitation Sieyes preserved a profound and dignified silence: but Courtois, a member of the legislative council,

BOOK formally denounced the jacobin society at the  
XXXII. Manege, as harboring designs of the most dan-  
1799. gerous nature, and such as tended speedily to  
revive the reign of terror. In the result, the  
council determined that no popular society  
should hold its sittings within their precincts;  
and the jacobins, amidst a torrent of menace and  
invectives, were finally compelled to abandon the  
Manege.

Law of hos-  
tages pass-  
ed. In order to secure the internal tranquillity of  
the republic, a most tyrannical law passed,  
known by the appellation of the law of hostages,  
by which the relations of emigrants, and other  
suspected persons, were made personally and  
civilly responsible for the disorders which should  
take place in the communes which they in-  
habited: and empowering the administrators  
of departments to secure any number of ci-  
tizens of this description as *hostages* for the  
good behaviour of the rest. This law, as might  
be expected, was the signal of almost universal  
revolt; and a state of open insurrection, however  
dangerous, seemed preferable to a submission to  
laws founded in such abominable injustice,

The restraints on the liberty of the press being  
relaxed, both jacobins and royalists attacked the  
existing government with the most unbounded  
acrimony of censure: and a formal complaint  
being preferred by the directory to the council

of a practice so audacious, as tending to the absolute dissolution of the state, a commission was appointed for the suppression of this grievance. 1799.  
BOOK  
XXXII.

The proposition also for the accusation of the four ex-directors was finally rejected, notwithstanding the public voice in its favor. It was alleged, with great plausibility, that if scaffolds were thus erected for the first magistrates of the republic, government would lose all its weight and dignity in the public estimation; that faction would never cease to threaten their successors with a similar catastrophe; and that, with such an example before their eyes, it would be impossible in future to feel confidence sufficient to attempt the execution of such bold and decisive measures as might, in certain circumstances, be necessary to save the country. It was, however, the subject of bitter regret, that men, who had brought the nation into so deplorable a state, whether from treachery or misconduct, should escape that punishment which was so justly their due.

The jacobin club, driven from the Manege, now held its assemblies in a church situated in the Fauxbourg St. Germaine, where they continued their debates with the same, or, if possible, increasing virulence and insolence. And not Paris merely, but Lyons, Toulouse, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Valence, and various other

BOOK cities, witnessed with terror the revival of those  
XXXII. political unions which had so lately covered their  
1799. country with blood. A correspondence was established between the society at Paris and those affiliated clubs; denunciations were openly made against members of the existing government, and a general dread of the return of the reign of terror began to pervade the public mind. On the anniversary of the fall of the miscreant Robespierre, the jacobins hung their tribune with black; while the constituted authorities repaired to the Champ de Mars to celebrate it as a day of thanksgiving. Sieyes was then president of the directory; and, in his public discourse on this occasion, he drew a most striking picture of the crimes and atrocities of the principal actors in those dreadful scenes by which the reign of jacobinism was distinguished. And soon after, on occasion of a message from the council of elders to the directory, denouncing the jacobins, a report was transmitted to the council, framed by the minister of police, Fouché, in which the societies of Paris and the departments were represented as directed by foreign agents, alienating the public mind by incessant calumnies, and openly violating the constitution.

The report of the minister received a more ample developement in the speech delivered by the director Sieyes in the Champ de Mars, on

the anniversary of the 10th of August, when, in a strain of glowing eloquence, he held up the members of those societies as " TRAITORS subsidised by the common enemy, or slaves only to their passions, anxious either for the speedy restoration of royalty, or preferring rather the return of that terror so justly abhorred by the French." The necessity of saving the country, incapable of saving itself, became the favorite subject of discussion in the societies: but, in the midst of their debates, the directory, with prompt decision, passed a decree, by which their doors were instantly shut, seals were put on all their papers, and a military guard stationed before each place of meeting. Domiciliary visits for a month were likewise authorised, in order to clear the metropolis of those swarms of jacobins and royalists who had poured in from all the departments in order to share in the new revolution, to be jointly effected by those old and inveterate adversaries.

These bold measures equally surprised and enraged the faction against which they were directed. At Bourdeaux, Toulouse, and various other places, revolutionary movements were excited, although immediately repelled by the military. But in the council of five hundred the leaders of the party exerted themselves to the utmost in order to regain their former ascendancy. Matters being prepared, general Jourdain represented

B O O K  
XXXII.

1799.

Jacobin  
meetings  
suppressed.

BOOK the dangers to which the republic was exposed.  
XXXII.

Italy lost, Batavia invaded, and even the frontier

1799. of France itself menaced by the enemy. Within,

a vast royalist conspiracy, completely organised,

and ready to burst forth. On every side the

torches of civil war lighted, and the patriots sa-

cificed. He then proceeded to state to the

council the necessity of continuing the sitting;

and urged the revival of the famous plan of Bar-

rere, that the country should once more rise in a

mass for the defence of its liberty and indepen-

dence. And he concluded with moving to de-

clare the republic in danger. This was vehe-

mently opposed by Lucien Bonaparte, who re-

commended a plenary confidence in the direc-

tory, protesting against the projects of perman-

ence, federation, and other revolutionary mea-

sures suggested by Jourdain and his co-adjutors.

“Great as the evils were which the nation suffered,

and greater still as were those which it appre-

hended, constitutional remedies were at hand;

and he deprecated the adoption of such measures

as were calculated to lead insensibly to the com-

mission or sufferance of crimes, the bare idea of

which would make the assembly start back with

horror.” The motion of Jourdain was at length

negatived by 245 voices to 171. A vast majority

of the citizens of Paris, who placed a just reli-

ance on the talents and firmness of Sieyes, re-

joiced in this decision ; but a profligate mob, who surrounded the hall of the assembly, insulted the <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~deputies~~ <sup>XXXII.</sup> ~~1799.~~ deputies who voted against the motion of Jourdain, and scarcely could they be restrained by the military from acts of open outrage.

Partial insurrections had for some time past disturbed the peace of various departments ; but, towards the end of August, a general insurrection broke out in the department of Mayenne, on the right of the Loire ; when the insurgents, who had hitherto kept chiefly within their woods and fastnesses, appeared in force, with leaders at their head, deposing the constituted authorities ; and, styling themselves the royal and catholic army, they openly avowed their intention of restoring the church and monarchy. The spirit of revolt, equally cherished by royalists and jacobins, rapidly diffused itself ; and in a short space of time no less than twenty departments were in a state of the most alarming commotion.

The folly, as well as wickedness, of the law respecting departmental hostages now became fully apparent ; and the forced loan having proved very unproductive, the treasury was exhausted, and without resource. The republic was rent with the rage of civil discord, the armies of France were defeated, and the enemy triumphant. Suspicion and fear pervaded every mind ; public confidence was annihilated ; and an insur-

Fatal consequences  
of the law  
of hostages.

~~BOOK~~  
~~xxxii.~~ mountable apathy, or rather despair, prevailed among those who had so long breathed ineffectual wishes for their country. Justice had become a name; patriotism a mask; liberty a phantom; and virtue a deception. Obscure and opposing machinations involved every one in perplexity; and the state appeared reeling, as it were, like a drunken Bacchanal, without either guide, guardian, or support.

All France felt the full force of her past and present evils, and the imperious necessity of establishing a better order of things. She required a government capable of repairing the ruins of the political edifice; or rather of re-constructing it on more solid and durable foundations. But by what miraculous interposition was this to be accomplished? By what super-human means was confidence to be restored, was courage to be re-animated, was civil discord to be healed, and authority, now every where spurned at, to be invigorated and confirmed? To solve these interesting questions, it is now become necessary to revert to the history of that celebrated commander who, in the spirit of romantic enterprise, had, in the beginning of the preceding year, bid adieu to his country, in search of new adventures, and in the hope of acquiring fresh and, if possible, more verdant laurels on the opposite side of the globe.

The genius of general Bonaparte, fertile in resources, and confident in its own superiority, seemed to expand in proportion as new difficulties presented themselves. The defeat of Aboukir, the hostile disposition of the Turkish court, with the obstinate resistance of the Mamelouks, rendered his original project, of transporting a great part of his army to India by the Red Sea, totally impracticable. On the contrary, the French commander had good reason to believe that his entire force would be scarcely sufficient to maintain possession of his new conquest, in opposition to the expected attack against Egypt both on the side of Syria and on that of the Mediterranean. Ibrahim Bey, with the remains of his Mamelouks, after the victory obtained over him by general Kleber, had fled towards Gaza; Achmied Djezzar, pacha of Acre, receiving him with the utmost cordiality, and threatening the French garrisons in that quarter by great hostile preparations. General Bonaparte immediately adopted the resolution to anticipate the intentions of Djezzar, by attempting an expedition into Syria, in order either to gain or to chastise the pacha, and then return to the defence of Egypt.

The weeks which intervened from the entire submission of the Egyptians, to the moment when the troops destined to this purpose prepared to march, were employed in scientific in-

BOOK  
XXXII.

1799.

Transactions in  
Egypt.

BOOK vestigations, and in military and naval surveys;   
XXXII. particularly that of the lake Menzala by general  
1799. Andreossi. The resolution of the famous problem relative to the existence of the canal of Suez was the object of Bonaparte's personal attention. He had detached, about the middle of November (1798), a corps of 1500 men, who had taken possession of Suez. Thither he repaired himself, at the end of the following month, with Monge and Berthollet; and, bending his way to the north of Suez, he found the entrance of the canal, and followed the course of it for more than four leagues. Returning by Belbeis, he again traced the vestiges of the same great work upon the border of the cultivated and watered lands of Lower Egypt. He then charged Peyre to take the level of the canal, beginning his operation from Suez.

During this survey general Bonaparte had adopted the precaution to send a body of troops towards El Arisch, near the entrance of the desert on the side of Syria: and general Regnier, with the first division of the army, had taken post at Salahieh and Cathieh, on the opposite extremity of the desert. All these places are cultivated spots, with wells, and plantations of palm-trees, insulated amid the sandy and burning waste. Bonaparte himself returned to Cairo for the purpose of giving his last orders respecting

the march of the army ; which consisted of about <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 13,000 regular troops, provided with a train of <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
 light artillery. General Desaix was left with a <sup>1799.</sup>  
 considerable force in the command of Upper  
 Egypt, to keep in awe the remains of the Mame-  
 louks under Mourad Bey. General Dugua was  
 entrusted with the government of Cairo ; Menou  
 was stationed at Rosetta, Almeyras at Damietta,  
 and Marmont at Alexandria.

General Kleber joining Regnier (February 4, <sup>Capture of</sup>  
 1799) at Cathieh, marched on to El Arisch, the <sup>El Arisch.</sup>  
 garrison of which consisted of 2000 chosen  
 troops. A convoy destined for this place being  
 intercepted, and general Bonaparte arriving in  
 person on the 17th, the fort surrendered on  
 the 19th. The French army now, in different  
 divisions, urged its painful march across the de-  
 sert—following each other in succession, at two  
 days' distance, that they might not exhaust the  
 wells of water. On the 24th of February the <sup>General</sup>  
 head-quarters were fixed at Khan-Jounesse, the <sup>Bonaparte</sup>  
 first village of Palestine, whence the beautiful <sup>enters Pa-</sup>  
 plain of Gaza, bounded by distant rising hills,  
 was plainly discernible. The enemy fell back <sup>lestine.</sup>  
 from Gaza ; and Bonaparte, entering the city,  
 found there a great quantity of provisions and  
 warlike stores.

On the 1st of March the army moved towards  
 Jaffa, the ancient Joppa. The trenches were im-

BOOK meditately opened ; and, in a few days, the breach  
XXXII. appearing practicable, the place was carried by  
1799. <sup>Capture of</sup> assault ; and the greater part of the garrison,  
Jaffa. who made a resistance equally furious and obstinate, put to the sword. "Never," says the general in his official dispatch, "did the horrors of war appear to me so hideous." Jaffa was an acquisition of the highest importance, being a secure dépôt for whatever commodities or stores might be sent to the French from Damietta and Alexandria.

French army encamp on Mount Carmel.

The army now continued its march from Jaffa, not without being incessantly harassed on both flanks. On the 17th they encamped at Sabarien, at the opening of the defiles of Mount Carmel leading to the plains of Acre—names which revive all the romantic and chivalrous ideas associated with the crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries \*. On arriving at Caiffa, at the

\* " Lo, the toilsome voyage past,  
Heaven's favour'd hills appear at last !  
Object of our holy vow,  
We tread the Syrian valleys now.  
From Carmel's almond-shaded steep  
We feel the cheering fragrance creep ;  
O'er Engaddi's shrubs of balm  
Curls the vine, and waves the palm.  
See Lebanon's aspiring head,  
Wide his immortal umbrage spread !"

WARTON.

foot of the mountain, the advanced guard, to <sup>BOOK</sup>  
~~XXXII.~~  
 their surprise, discovered a squadron, hoisting the <sup>1799.</sup>  
 English flag, lying off the coast, and which soon  
 appeared sufficiently near to annoy them with  
 repeated discharges of grape shot. It was com-  
 manded by commodore sir Sydney Smith, who  
 had already distinguished himself by his ardent  
 and daring spirit of enterprise on various occa-  
 sions. On the 18th the French army encamped <sup>Siege of</sup>  
~~Acre.~~  
 on an insulated height in the vicinity of the city of  
 Acre \*, and bordering the sea, at about a mile  
 distance. On the other side was a plain of con-  
 siderable extent, bounded by the hills beyond  
 which flows the celebrated river Jordan.

General Bonaparte, not expecting any consider-  
 able resistance from this place, ordered the  
 castles of Safflet and Shefflanz to be taken pos-  
 session of, in order to clear the route to Damas-  
 cus. But the English commander had adopted the  
 precaution to send able engineers to the assist-  
 ance of Djezzar Pacha, who had repaired the an-  
 cient fortifications of the city, consisting, agree-  
 ably to the fashion of the twelfth century, of cur-  
 tines flanked with square towers. On the 19th  
 the trenches were opened, and the labor of

\* Called by the French St. Jean d'Acre, on account of its having been the residence of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and defended by them, in the times of the crusades, against the Saracens.

**BOOK** erecting batteries commenced. But scarcely was  
**XXXII.** the investment of the fortress completed, when

**1799.** Bonaparte received the inexpressibly mortifying  
 Train of  
 battering  
 artillery  
 intercepted  
 by sir Syd-  
 ney Smith. intelligence, that the flotilla under admiral Pe-  
 rée, on board of which his whole train of batter-  
 ing artillery, together with a large quantity of  
 warlike stores, was embarked at Alexandria, had  
 been encountered by the English squadron, which  
 captured the greater part of the vessels, the re-  
 mainder, with difficulty, taking refuge in the  
 port of Jaffa. The cannon and stores were in-  
 instantly landed at Acre from the flotilla, and con-  
 verted to the defence of the place which they  
 had been designed to destroy. The presence of  
 the English commander diffused a new and heroic  
 spirit into the pacha and the garrison, who now  
 determined to exert every possible means of re-  
 sistance. "The town," says sir Sydney Smith, in  
 an official dispatch to lord Nelson, "is not nor  
 ever has been defensible according to the rules of  
 art, but, according to every other rule, it must  
 and shall be defended;—not that it is in itself  
 worth defending, but we feel that it is by this  
 breach that Bonaparte means to march to further  
 conquests."

Gallant de-  
 fence of  
 Acre.

On the 29th of March, a breach being effected,  
 the troops advanced to the assault, but were re-  
 pulsed with considerable loss. Encouraged by  
 this success, Djezzar sent emissaries to Damas-

cus, Aleppo, Saïd, and Nauplusium, to raise in a <sup>BOOK</sup> mass all the mussulmen capable of bearing arms, <sup>XXXII.</sup> “in order,” said the *firman*, “to combat the infidels.” He affirmed, “that he was supported by a formidable English force; and that they had only to appear in order to exterminate their enemies.” Sir Sydney Smith also wrote circular letters to the princes and chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, and likewise to the scheiks of the Druses, “recalling them,” to adopt his own expression, “to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp.” He sent them, moreover, a copy of Bonaparte’s “impious proclamation,” in which he boasts, according to the representation of sir Sydney Smith, “of having overthrown all Christian establishments;” accompanied by a suitable exhortation, calling upon them, in the genuine spirit of chivalry, “to choose between the friendship of a CHRISTIAN KNIGHT and that of *an unprincipled renegado.*” General Bonaparte, therefore, now found himself in a singular predicament; being openly denounced as an infidel and renegado, for speaking with too much complaisance of the religion of Mahomed, by those very persons who acknowledged, by the same public and authentic declaration, the ignorant and ferocious votaries of that religion, as ranking in the number of their dearest friends and

~~BOOK~~ allies. A CHRISTIAN KNIGHT combating not  
~~XXXII.~~ against but in aid of "the Turkish miscreants,"

1799. was a strange phenomenon in Palestine; and it must be owned that the renowned CŒUR DE LION would never have recognised him in that character.

Turkish army assembles at Damascus.

The exhortations and denunciations, however, of the English commander and the Turkish pacha, conjoined, produced a great effect. Troops were speedily assembled at Damascus and elsewhere for the relief of Acre. Meanwhile, the brave garrison made continual sallies. The battering in breach with the field-pieces commenced anew, but with little effect. A small part of the counterscarp, however, falling in, the French attempted a lodgement in the tower of the breach, but were again repulsed. On the 8th of April the garrison sallied at once on the right, the left, and the centre of the French. At the head of each column were the marine troops of the English vessels: all the batteries were served by the English; and the British standard, for the first time, waved beside the Turkish crescent. A furious conflict ensued, in which the reverses of the parallels were covered with slain. The French accounts affirm, that the heads of the wounded, and of the prisoners taken by the Turks, were cut off, and their bleeding bodies enveloped in sacks and thrown into the water.

" Yet," say they, " the English flag floated on <sup>BOOK</sup>  
the ramparts by the side of that of Djezzar!" <sup>XXXII.</sup>

Bonaparte now receiving intelligence that the <sup>1799.</sup>

Mamelouks of Ibrahim Bey, with the Janisaries of Damascus and Aleppo, were preparing to pass the Jordan, in order to join the Arabs and moun-taineers of Nauplusium, gave orders to general Kleber to advance towards Nazareth, in order to observe the enemy, whom he discovered on the heights of Sed Jarra, four leagues from that place. Descending rapidly into the plain, they attempted to surround the small force of Kle-  
ber; who not only defended himself with suc-  
cess, but, charging with resistless impetuosity in his turn, drove the Turks in disorder back to the Jordan. Here they again assembled in prodig-  
ous force; their numbers being calculated at not less than fifty thousand men. Bonaparte now began to perceive that a decisive victory only could enable him, either to remain in his present position, or to retreat with safety. On the 15th of April he quitted the camp before Acre, leav-  
ing two divisions there; and, in the course of the next day's march; from a rising ground he perceived general Kleber actually engaged with a vast body of the enemy's cavalry. He imme-  
diately formed his dispositions for turning the flank and rear of the Turks, and separating them from their camp. A cannon-shot announced to

B O O K general Kleber the approach of Bonaparte. The  
XXXII. necessary manœuvres being executed with the  
1799.  
Complete  
victory of  
Bonaparte  
over the  
Turks.

greatest military skill and precision, a general charge was made with the bayonet. Terror pervaded the Turkish ranks; and, perceiving themselves cut off from their camp and magazines, they fled with precipitation towards Mount Tabor; and part, attempting to ford the river, were drowned in the Jordan. The separate body of the Mamelouks, with the troops of Damascus, were at the same time surprised and totally defeated by general Murat; and the enemy experienced on this day a loss of five thousand men killed, with all their magazines, camp equipage, and stores. "What most surprised these barbarians," say the French accounts, "was to be, at the same time, beaten through a line of nine leagues;—so much were the combined movements unknown to them."

Unsuccess-  
ful affair of  
Acre. General Bonaparte now returned to the hopeless task of the siege of Acre. On the 24th of April, the mine destined to spring the tower adjoining to the breach was completed. A cannoneade commenced from all the batteries; but the explosion of the mine produced very little effect. A second attempt was made to obtain a lodgement in the tower, without success. Admiral Perée had disembarked at Jaffa three pieces of heavy cannon, twentyfour-pounders; these, with six other

pieces, eighteen-pounders, sent from Damietta, <sup>BOOK</sup> had by this time reached Acre; and the works <sup>XXXII.</sup> <sup>1799.</sup> of the besiegers were renewed with redoubled ardor. Sallies and attacks were almost daily repeated, and the siege seemed to be converted into one continued battle. On the 7th of May a numerous fleet was despatched bringing a reinforcement of men, provisions, and ammunition to the besieged. Bonaparte immediately ordered a general assault, and the covered way of the glacis and the tower of the breach were carried sword in hand; but not without great loss on the part of the assailants; seventeen French officers being killed or dangerously wounded on this occasion. Early the next morning the curtain was battered in breach, which, in falling, presented a passage sufficiently practicable. Bonaparte instantly renewed the attack; and the French were already descending into the place, with sanguine hope of success, when a detachment from the garrison, sallying through the fossé of the right and left, took the enemy in the rear. A second tower, commanding the right of the breach, severely annoyed them in flank. Combustibles also were thrown among the assailants; which occasioning great confusion, together with the fire from the houses, the barricades, and the palace of Djezzar, 'temporarily converted into a place of arms,' caused at length

BOOK a retrograde movement, notwithstanding the ut-  
XXXII. most efforts of general Lasnes, who was himself  
1799. severely wounded. Never was any prize of so  
little intrinsic value so obstinately and heroically  
contested. Divided only by a breast-work of  
ruins, the muzzles of the musquets touched, and  
the spear-heads of the standards locked. Djez-  
zar Pacha, hearing the English were on the  
breach, quitted his station in the garden of the  
palace, where, according to the ancient and sa-  
vage custom of the Turks, "he was sitting to re-  
ward those who should bring him the heads of the  
enemy;" and, repairing hastily to the spot, pulled  
down such as he could seize, with violence, say-  
ing, "if any harm happened to *his English  
friends*, all was lost \*."

All rational hope of success before Acre had  
now vanished; but Bonaparte could not resolve  
to relinquish an object which Fortune, for the  
first time faithless to this most distinguished of  
her favorites, had flattered him with so easily ob-  
taining. He was anxious to try once more the  
chance of arms. On the 11th of May, this great  
commander, incited by excessive chagrin to an  
act of inexcusable rashness, caused three despe-  
rate assaults to be successively made, in which  
the French lost more than five hundred privates

\* Vide official dispatches of sir Sydney Smith, dated May 2d and 9th.

and many brave and distinguished officers. On <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 the morning of the 12th, Bonaparte sent a flag <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
<sup>1799.</sup> of truce to the pacha, in order to propose a ces-  
 sation of arms for the interment of the dead  
 bodies; the effluvia from which contaminated  
 the atmosphere. But the bearer, according to  
 the French accounts, was forcibly detained, and  
 scarcely escaped with life. Sir Sydney Smith re-  
 lates, by way of palliation, “ that while the an-  
 swer was *under consideration* a volley of shot and  
 shells on a sudden announced an assault, easily  
 indeed and speedily repelled ; and that he res-  
 cued the life of the Arab dervise, who brought  
 the message, from the indignation of the Turks,  
 by taking him on board his own ship, the Tigre ;  
 and that he afterwards returned, charged by  
 him, with a message to the French commander.”

Whether this ineffectual attack was merely an act of passionate indiscretion, or of artful design, on the part of the French general, it by no means amounted to what sir Sydney Smith, in his dispatch of May 30, styles “ a most flagrant breach of every law of honour and of war ; ” for more than this could not have been affirmed of the violation of a formal treaty, had the proposal of a cessation of arms been actually acceded to \*.

\* That lofty energy of mind which exults and expands, as it were, in the conflict with difficulty and with danger, is very apparent in the letters written by sir Sydney Smith during

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General Bonaparte now recognised the fatal necessity of raising the siege, which had been hi-

thereto continued with unabating resolution and

the siege of Acre : and there are also discernible many traces of generosity and humanity, which are no less essential to the character of the hero. In his dispatch of May 2, he says—“ Nothing but desperation can induce them,” i.e. the French, “ to mount a breach, practicable only by the means of scaling-ladders, under such a fire as we pour in upon them ; and it is impossible to see the lives even of our enemies thus sacrificed, and so much bravery misapplied, without regret.” In his subsequent letter of May 9th, he speaks of the courage of general Lasnes in terms of admiration ; and in that of May 30, in a manner equally honorable of the exertions of general Kleber and his division. On the other hand, the gross and virulent personalities directed by the hero of Acre, the PALMERIN of ENGLAND, against the new AMADIS de GAUL, are wholly incompatible with the decorum and courtesy of knighthood. By far the most serious of the charges brought against the French commander, has, however, been fully corroborated by later and more detailed evidence, viz. that of “ having massacred the *Turkish* prisoners taken at Jaffa, in cool blood, three days after the capture of that place.”—*Vide letter dated May 30.*

The account given by Bonaparte himself of the storming of Jaffa, and the consequent events, is as follows : “ At five o’clock we were masters of the town, which during twenty-four hours was given up to all the horrors of war, which never appeared to me so hideous. Four thousand of Djezzar’s troops, among whom were eight hundred cannoneers, were put to the sword : part of the inhabitants were massacred. I have sent home more than five hundred persons of Damascus and Aleppo ; as well as from four to five hundred Egyptians. I

pertinacity. This heavy disappointment was, <sup>BOOK</sup> however, unattended with the slightest degree of <sup>XXXII.</sup> military degradation. He had, with an army of <sup>1799.</sup>

have pardoned the Mamelouks and Cashefs, whom we took at El-Arisch. I have pardoned Omar Makram, scheik of Cairo. I have been merciful with the Egyptians, as well as with the people of Jaffa; but *severe* with the garrison which was taken with arms in its hands—*SEVERE envers la garnison qui s'est laissé prendre les armes de la main.*"—*Vide Official Dispatch.*

It appears from this narrative, confirmed by all the other French accounts, that the ‘massacre’ alluded to by sir Sydney Smith, however barbarous and unjustifiable, was by no means, according to the vulgar report and belief, universal of the captured garrison, but, as sir Sydney’s letter indicates, of the Turkish prisoners only; the number of whom has never been ascertained. In extenuation of this deed of blood and horror, it has been urged that it was intended as an act of just and necessary retaliation—the Turks never having, on any occasion, given quarter to the French. It is also affirmed that the Turkish part of the garrison of Jaffa was in great measure composed of men released on their parole after the surrender of El-Arisch and Gaza; and who were therefore, by the laws of war, liable to military execution—men whom it was equally unsafe for the French commander to retain or to release. Nothing, however, can reconcile such a procedure to the feelings of afflicted humanity. It may, nevertheless, be truly said that the massacre perpetrated by the detestable Suwarrow, at Warsaw, though comparatively little animadverted upon, and the author of which has even been extolled as a Christian hero, was infinitely more atrocious than this of Jaffa, as admitting none of the same palliating circumstances.

As to the other popular charge against Bonaparte, not indeed mentioned or hinted at by sir Sydney Smith, of his having

**BOOK** thirteen or fourteen thousand men, traversed  
**XXXII.** the desert which separates Africa from Asia ; and  
 1799. had surmounted every obstacle with unexampled  
 activity and constancy. He had maintained,  
 during three months, a war in the heart of Syria,  
 and taken forty field-pieces and fifty standards.  
 He had killed, or made prisoners, in that time,  
 above seven thousand men ; captured the for-  
 tresses of Gaza, Jaffa, and Caiffa, and totally de-  
 feated the vast army collected for the invasion  
 and re-conquest of Egypt.

Siege of  
Acre  
raised.

The requisite preparations having been made,  
 on the first Prairial (May 20), at nine in the  
 evening, Bonaparte ordered the *générale* to beat,  
 and the siege was raised, after the trenches had  
 been open sixty days. “ **SOLDIERS,**” said the

caused all the sick in the hospital at Jaffa to be poisoned in  
 one night, it appears to be mere fiction and romance ; and it  
 is probably not believed by a single individual in France.

Such an act as that of poisoning six or seven hundred per-  
 sons in one night, must have been as little capable of conceal-  
 ment as the murder of the same number of persons in open  
 day ; and it is impossible that Bonaparte could have retained,  
 for a moment after the perpetration of it, the attachment or  
 confidence of his troops. Upon the subject of attention to the  
 sick, the testimony of Desgenettes, the celebrated physician-  
 general to the French army in the east, is in the highest degree  
 favorable to Bonaparte ; whom he represents “ as accustomed  
 in person to visit and relieve those who were afflicted with the  
 pestilential contagion.”—*Histoire médicale de l'Armée d'Orient.*

French commander, in his proclamation on this <sup>BOOK</sup> occasion, “you have a career of fatigue and <sup>XXXII.</sup> danger still to run: after having disabled the <sup>1799.</sup> east from acting against us during the present campaign, we have now to repel the efforts of a part of the west. You will there find new opportunities of acquiring glory.” The army, having first buried in the sand, or thrown into the sea, their whole train of heavy artillery, commenced a painful retreat, which, in defiance of every obstacle, was executed with exemplary fortitude and little comparative loss; the general himself marching on foot for three days over the burning sands of the desert. After dispersing the numerous parties of Arabs which harassed them on every side, the troops arrived, without any <sup>Return of Bonaparte to Grand Cairo.</sup> disaster, 26th Prairial (June 15), at Grand Cairo, where they were hailed by their fellow citizens and soldiers with loud acclamations.

Here, in this great metropolis and centre of his conquests, general Bonaparte enjoyed a transient repose; undisturbed except by some unimportant operations directed against the Arabs and Mamelouks under the command of Mourad Bey. But on the 26th of Messidor (July 15), he was informed by a letter from Alexandria that a Turkish fleet, consisting of a hundred sail, which had been long collecting in the ports of the isle of Rhodes, had cast anchor in the bay of Aboukir

BOOK on the 23d. He immediately took his departure  
XXXII. for Rhamanie, where he arrived 1st Thermidor  
1799. (July 19th); the army quickly joining him in dif-  
ferent divisions. He there learned that the  
Turks had landed in great force, and on the 27th  
Messidor (July 15) had captured the castle of  
Aboukir, though well fortified and in a condition  
to make a vigorous resistance ; after which, they  
made every disposition to establish themselves in  
the peninsula of Aboukir ; whence general Bonaparte  
determined to dislodge them. On the 7th  
Thermidor the army marched to the attack, and  
the action soon became general. After a conflict  
clearly demonstrating how susceptible the an-  
cient Ottoman valor was of revival under a new  
Solyman or Amurath, the Turks, unskilled in the  
military art, were put completely to the rout :  
Mustapha Pacha, the commander, was taken ;  
several thousands of his followers left dead on the  
field ; all the baggage and artillery fell into the  
hands of the French ; and the remainder of the  
Turkish forces were either wholly dispersed or  
driven into the sea : so that a great army seemed  
at once annihilated. In a short time the castle  
of Aboukir, notwithstanding the assistance it de-  
rived from the English squadron off the bay, was  
compelled to surrender at discretion.

Victory  
over the  
Turks at  
Aboukir.

After acquiring these new laurels, rendered  
more wonderful to the world from the previous

reports circulated by authority of the utter ruin of Bonaparte and his army \*, that general returned to Grand Cairo, where he made such regulations as were requisite to the permanence and welfare of the rising establishments of that place ; distributed rewards to those officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves ; held out encouragement to the infant manufactures of the city, and the various literary and scientific institutions which had been lately set on foot : and having ordered every thing as a great general, statesman, and skilful administrator, he resolved, in consequence of the interesting and important intelligence recently received from Europe, to quit Egypt, and return without delay to France.

For this purpose, he required of admiral Ganttheaume to make ready for sea two frigates, an advice boat, and a tartane ; addressing a sealed note to each of the persons he wished to take with him, accompanied by directions not to open the note until a certain specified time, when they were to repair to the sea-shore. The 5th Fructidor, year VII, (August 23, 1799,) was the day appointed. All who had received notes arrived at the rendezvous, opened their instructions, and found they were to embark immediately. Bonaparte, going on board, left a packet addressed to

Bonaparte  
departs for  
France.

\* Vide official articles from Vienna, published in the London Gazette, July 6 and 9, 1799.

BOOK general Kleber, which was not to be opened till  
XXXII. twenty-four hours after his departure. It con-  
1799. tained the nomination of that officer to the com-  
mand of the army of Egypt during his absence, and  
directions to confer the government of Upper  
Egypt upon general Desaix. He arrived, Octo-  
ber 1st, at Ajaccio in Corsica, his native country;  
having, by that rare fortune which so constantly  
attended him, met with no part of the English  
fleet at sea, nor seen any vessel but one English  
frigate at a distance. On the 16th he reached  
St. Raphéau, and at two o'clock entered the town  
of Frejus, with his companions and suite, sur-  
rounded by an immense concourse of people, as-  
sembled from all the adjacent communes, making  
the air resound with the cries of *Vive la Répub-  
lique! Vive Bonaparte!*

Bonaparte arrives at Paris.

From Frejus he the next day set out for Paris  
with general Berthier; and was received on his  
arrival with the highest honors, both by the di-  
rectory and the two councils;—for his great talents  
were acknowledged by all parties, and his fame  
had, indeed, extended itself throughout the  
world. Scarcely had he reached the metropo-  
lis, when the leaders of the different factions  
flocked about him to strengthen themselves with  
his suffrage. In the midst of this fluctuation and  
uncertainty, Bonaparte felt the necessity of a  
prompt and vigorous decision. Urged by his

high and ambitious hopes, he resolved, in this perplexing dilemma, to sever with his sword the Gordian knot, and to take upon himself an immense responsibility, by seizing with a firm and daring hand the slackened reins of the state.

The 18th Brumaire (November 9) was fixed upon as the period of action; and, agreeably to the plan pre-concerted with a small number of persons, of whom Sieyes was the chief, the council of elders, such only excepted as were avowedly jacobinical, were summoned to meet early in the morning; when on the motion of Regnier, who described to them in lively colors the danger of the country, and the necessity of taking speedy and effective measures for its deliverance, it was, by a vast majority, decreed to transfer the sittings of the legislative body to St. Cloud; and general Bonaparte was charged with the execution of the decree—the legislative guard being also placed under his orders. No sooner was this appointment officially notified to him, than he repaired to the palace of the Tuilleries, accompanied by generals Berthier and Lefevre, and, addressing the council, declared to them "that the decree their wisdom had issued, the arms of himself, and the generals his associates, would carry into execution. We will," said he, "have a republic founded on the right basis; on civil liberty and national representation—I swear it

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1799.

BOOK in my own name; and in that of my fellow-soldiers."

1799. At eleven o'clock the gates of the Tuilleries were shut, and guards placed at the principal posts in and about Paris. He then reviewed the troops stationed in the courts and gardens of the palace, which resembled a camp; and published a proclamation addressed to the soldiery at large, inviting them to second him with their accustomed energy, firmness, and courage. "In what state," said he, "did I leave France? In what state have I found it? I left you peace, and I find war! I left you conquests, and the enemy are passing your frontiers! I left your arsenals well supplied; you are without arms: robbery has been reduced to system; the resources of the state are drained; and the soldiery is without the necessary means of defence—Where are the hundred thousand comrades whom I left covered with laurels?"

On the news of the unexpected sitting of the council of the ancients, the directory called an extraordinary meeting. Gohier, at this crisis president, Moulins, and Barras, were at the directorial palace of the Luxemburg: Sieyes and Roger Ducos had previously repaired to the Tuilleries. A message was sent to the military commandant of Paris. He came; and when called upon to explain the cause of the tumult, he answered that an

irrevocable decree, which had just been issued, invested Bonaparte with the command of all the troops in Paris—that he was now only a subaltern; and that to the general in chief they must address themselves for any further information they required. Gohier and Moulins were at first inclined to adopt violent measures, and it was proposed to arrest general Bonaparte in his own house; but it was immediately discovered that the guard had deserted to the Tuilleries; and even that the directorial palace was invested by a troop of soldiers. The three directors, no longer supported either by public force or public opinion, perceived the supreme authority dropping from their hands. At noon, Barras sent in his resignation to Bonaparte, and obtained leave to retire, under a guard, to his superb villa of Gros-bois. He alone had continued from the very commencement of the existing constitution in the directorial office; and his character had been distinguished rather by dissipation and corruption than by cruelty or oppression. Moulins and Gohier were confined to their apartments in the Luxemburg: the former escaped, however, during the night, and the latter was permitted on the next day to retire to his own house.

The council of five hundred opened their sitting, as usual, at noon. They knew nothing of

BOOK XXXII. the causes which had determined the conduct of  
the elders but from vague reports. After the  
1799. *procès verbal* had been read, every one wished to  
Dissolution of the directorial constitution. be heard. But the president, Lucien Bonaparte, brother to the general, cut short all debate by reciting the decree by which the council of elders, in virtue of the 103d article of the constitution, transferred the legislative sittings to St. Cloud ; and, in defiance of every attempt at opposition, declared the meeting DISSOLVED. Two proclamations were then published by general Bonaparte :—one announcing to the national guard the removal of the legislature to St. Cloud, in order to guarantee it from the danger with which it was threatened by the disorganisation of the administrative government ; the other declaring to the soldiery that he had taken the command of the army for the purpose of executing measures devised solely for the benefit of the people. And in a third proclamation, the citizens of Paris were exhorted to remain quiet, and informed that the measures which would be adopted were intended to re-establish interior order, to restore liberty, and fix the republic on sure foundations. In consequence of these public avowals, and still more of the universal persuasion which prevailed, that the result of the measures now in agitation would be found highly beneficial, the most profound tranquillity reigned

throughout that vast city ; and the committee of <sup>B O O K</sup> ~~inspection~~ XXXII. appointed by the council of elders, <sup>1799.</sup> with the directors Sieyes and Ducos, remained all night at the Tuilleries to prepare matters for the sitting on the ensuing day, conformably to the decree.

On the next morning the senate assembled in the great gallery at the palace of St. Cloud, and the council of five hundred occupied the orangery, which opened on the garden. Gaudin, a member of the great council, moved, at the end of a speech stating the urgent necessity of such a measure, that a committee of seven should be chosen to make an immediate report on the situation of the state ; but no sooner had he concluded, than a violent clamor arose—some moving for a message to the council of elders to know the motives of such a translation ; others for a renewal of the oath of fidelity to the constitution. After the first tumult had subsided, the proposition for a renewal of the oath was made in form, and carried by acclamation.

In the mean time Bonaparte was engaged in haranguing the council of elders, and exhorting them to associate their wisdom with his firmness. He declared the constitution of the year III, to be at present nothing but a ruin—that it had been successively the sport of every party, who had each of them, in turn, trodden

BOOK it under foot ; and he affirmed that, in the name  
XXXII. of the constitution, every species of tyranny  
1799. had not only been practised, but sanctioned  
and organised. On using in the course of his  
speech the memorable words "WE WILL SAVE  
THE REPUBLIC AND LIBERTY !" a voice exclaimed,  
"Who will answer for it?" On which, with a  
noble enthusiasm, or the *semblance* of it, suddenly  
apostrophising the surrounding military guard,  
"SOLDIERS!" cried he, "SAY if I ever deceived you  
when I promised you victory?" He concluded  
with exhorting the ancients to take the most  
speedy measures to save the country.

Having finished his speech, general Bonaparte repaired to the council of five hundred ; who, after renewing their vows of fidelity to the constitution, were discussing with warmth the questions of electing a successor to Barras, of making an appeal to the people, of returning to Paris in a mass, &c. when the general presented himself at the door of the orangery, accompanied by several officers and soldiers without arms. He advanced a few steps into the room, as if wishing to address the assembly ; when a hundred voices in an instant exclaimed, "Down with the TYRANT! Down with the DICTATOR! KILL HIM! KILL HIM! Divers of the members even left their seats, and rushed towards the door, imprecating vengeance, with

menacing gesticulations ; and Arena, one of the <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~XXXII.~~ deputies, struck a blow at him with a poniard, ~~XXXII.~~ which one of the grenadiers parried, and received on his arm. Bonaparte, with all his heroism, stood for a moment astonished and speechless ; for, though he doubtless expected opposition, he was not prepared for a scene of such frantic violence. Jacobinism personified, seemed to present itself to his view ; murder in its eye, and the dagger in its hand. The officers who accompanied him at length came forward to rescue their chief from the danger which environed him ; and Bonaparte was persuaded to return to the soldiery drawn up in the court of the palace.

The president, Lucien Bonaparte, now ascending the tribune, proclaimed aloud that the general had no other design than to impart to the council very important information respecting the present situation of affairs ; and demanded that he should be called into the hall to state to the assembly the motives of his conduct. But his voice was drowned in the tumult of reproaches and exclamations ; and a scene of chaotic confusion ensued, till the president, throwing off his robe, declared himself divested of his presidency. Immediately poniards and pistols were presented to his breast, to compel him to resume his office ; when ge-

BOOK neral Lefevre, deputed by Bonaparte, by this  
XXXII. time apprised of the dangerous situation of his  
1799. brother, entered the hall at the head of a detachment of the military, and, surrounding the president, led him into the court of the palace. The troops, animated indeed by the presence of their general, but by no means unanimous or determined in their opinions, listened with profound attention to the president; while he declared to them, in moving terms, that he, as well as his brother, had been menaced with assassination; that the assembly of five hundred no longer existed; that the minority had become rebels, and were holding the poniard of sedition and despotism over the heads of the unarmed majority; and that he, as president, invoked the aid of the military force to expel those rebels from the council chamber, where they were then exercising acts of despotism and violence; and were on the point of overthrowing the republic. The soldiers, on the termination of this harangue, drew their swords, rending the air with the cries of **VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE!**

The general, now perceiving that the critical moment was arrived, gave aloud the order to march, and was eagerly obeyed. The chamber of the council was still the seat of uproar and of anarchy, when on a sudden the *pas de charge*

was heard, and the voices of the speakers were lost in the sound of drums and clarionets. In an instant the soldiers appeared at the door, preceded by officers; one of whom invited the deputies to withdraw, declaring that he would not be responsible for their safety. Very many yielded to the invitation. Others renewed their invectives and exclamations; but the *pas de charge* being sounded a second time, the grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, quickly cleared the hall; the representatives crowding into the garden, and leaving the military in complete possession of the palace. The most violent of the malcontents retreated with precipitation to Paris. The first imperfect intelligence of these events had filled the metropolis with extreme apprehension; but no sooner were the circumstances attending this new revolution made known, than the Parisians appeared overjoyed at the final subversion of the Jacobin power, and the prospect of establishing a new and better government, founded on principles of justice and humanity, under the guardian care of which citizens obedient to the laws might find protection and safety.

While the conflict between the great council and the general continued, the council of elders were far from being unanimous in their resolution to adopt measures eventually subversive of

BOOK XXXII. the directorial constitution ; and it was asserted  
that adequate remedies might be found for the  
disorders of the state, however great, without  
resorting to that dangerous extremity. But no  
sooner was the contest terminated than they  
agreed to the propositions—that an executive  
provisionary commission should be named—  
that the legislative body should be adjourned to  
the 1st Nivose (December 21)—and that an in-  
termediary commission, to preserve the rights of  
the national representation, should be formed.

In the evening the council of five hundred,  
and that of the ancients, again assembled ;  
but the former now appeared of a very diffe-  
rent complexion from that which it had worn  
a few hours before. Lucien Bonaparte congra-  
tulated the members present on the deliverance  
they had obtained from the yoke of demagogues  
and assassins ; although the vanquished party  
doubtless burned to extend a second time their  
bloody and horrible domination over the af-  
frighted land. His speech was interrupted only  
by applauses. The way being now sufficiently  
paved, Boulay de la Meurthe, in an eloquent  
harangue, demonstrated by cogent arguments  
the necessity of a radical change in the consti-  
tution. Under the guidance of the directory,  
he affirmed that France might be considered as  
possessing nothing stable either in its agents or

its means. Under the directorial tyranny personal security was every instant violated, property was uncertain, commerce and the arts were in a state of stagnation; confidence was annihilated, and the oppression of the people carried to such excess that it was equally dangerous to point out the evils of the state or the remedies to those evils. He developed with great sagacity the inherent defects of that constitution, and the causes which rendered it morally impossible that harmony or confidence should ever exist between the executive and legislative powers. These two authorities, instead of marching together, were almost always in opposition; presenting the spectacle of two furious enemies continually in action and seeking to crush each other. If a review were taken of the immediate operation of the executive power on the people, or an examination to be made of the administrative system, nothing appeared either fixed or regular. The administrators were in a state of perpetual mutation, according to the wiles or caprice of the alternately dominating party, which was itself continually occupied, not about the good of the public at large, but how to consolidate its own triumph over the adverse faction. "In short, upon investigating the public service, is there," said this orator, "a single part which is organised, or

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~~BOOK~~  
~~XXXII.~~ which is carried on in a regular and invariable mode? On the contrary, every thing is in 1799. chaos, and all our efforts to extricate ourselves have ended in nothing; and never can end in any thing except to plunge us deeper in the abyss of ruin. Is it astonishing, therefore, that neither public nor private liberty has yet existed in France, where all command and none obey; where nothing, in short, exists but the phantom of a government? The basis of the constitution, or the general principles of it, are indeed good; they are the principles of every republican government;—the sovereignty of the people, the unity of the republic, equality of rights, liberty, and the representative system. But the constitutional organisation arranged on this basis is essentially vicious. It is in the conviction of the demagogues as well as of ourselves, that the actual order of things can no longer continue. They would willingly take advantage of the movement, and govern France as in 1793; while we are anxious for the establishment of a plan of liberty allied with order and productive of happiness. We wish liberty for all, they only for themselves."

On the conclusion of this speech, the project already approved by the council of elders was brought forward. It stated that the directory existed no longer—that certain deputies, to the

number of sixty-one, were no longer members of <sup>B O O K</sup> ~~XXXII.~~ the national representation—that an executive <sup>1799.</sup> commission should be provisionally appointed, composed of Sieyes, Ducos, and Bonaparte, who should bear the appellation of consuls of the French republic—that the two councils should name commissions of twenty-five members each, charged to prepare the changes in the organic dispositions of the constitution—the end of which changes was to consolidate, guarantee, and inviolably consecrate the sovereignty of the French people—that they should also be charged with the formation of a civil code. Finally, a proclamation was issued, declaring to the people of France the events which had taken place, and the causes which led to the present changes. Thus terminated this great revolution in the state, which, like the famous preceding one of Thermidor, was wholly effected in the short space of twenty-four hours; and, like that, was received with enthusiasm by all classes of persons, the Jacobins only excepted.

The three consuls entered upon their public functions the following day at the palace of the Luxemburg; and the legislative commissions also, without delay, commenced their sittings. The first objects which engaged their attention, were the repeal of the law of the forced loan, and that known under the name of the law of hos-

BOOK tages—the former of which had extinguished the  
XXXII. remains of public credit, and the latter once  
1799. more lighted up the flames of internal war. Bonaparte's earliest and more especial care was to tranquillise La Vendée and the neighbouring departments, where Discord, armed with the torch of Fanaticism, still spread destruction around her. For this purpose general Bernadotte was sent thither with a powerful force. But mild and persuasive measures were the principal arms used in this warfare. Peace was offered to the chief of the leaders, and the terms were accepted. In a short time there remained only a few hordes of brigands who could find in civil and internal dissensions alone the means of retaining an usurped authority, and of giving vent to their brutal barbarity.

In the interior, Bonaparte made every effort to pacify and unite the different factions; establishing freedom of general worship; infusing confidence into every breast harassed by the storms of the revolution, and panting for the blessings of repose. Regularity succeeded to trouble and disorder; the several branches of the military establishment were re-organised; the civil administration experienced great and essential ameliorations; and the tribunals of justice regained their activity. The list of emigrants—till this period kept open in order to be occa-

sionally exercised as a rod of terror and of vengeance—was finally closed ; and the sun of prosperity began once more to shed its benign rays 1799. BOOK  
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During the interval between the abolition of one constitution and the establishment of another, a sort of dictatorial authority was vested in the consular commission, who, by an article of the decree enacted at St. Cloud, were specially charged with the maintenance of the public tranquillity. Under the sanction of this vague injunction, an arrêté of the consuls, issuing eight days only after the revolution, condemned fifty-nine of the most furious and inveterate jacobins to banishment ; thirty-seven of them to Guiana, and the remainder to the Isle of Oleron. Various arrests of other leaders of the jacobin party at the same time took place. But although that faction had so lately practised and so publicly defended the propriety and necessity of similar measures, a violent cry of indignation was raised by them on this occasion against the new government ; and very many real friends of liberty, who had suffered deeply under the jacobinical tyranny, expressed their regret that the principles of freedom should be violated even in the persons of those atrocious wretches, covered with crimes and stained with the blood of their fellow-citizens. It is, however, possible

~~BOOK~~ ~~XXXII.~~ that this arrêt was designed merely to strike terror into these *terrorists*; for the decree of banishment was, soon afterwards, provisionally changed into an arrêté, placing the individuals in question under the inspection of the minister of police; and even this was in a short time repealed.

The mildness of the consular government also signally displayed itself in the termination put to the legal proscription of the catholic priesthood. Such administrations as had been active in the persecution of priests were broken; and the churches which had been converted into places of municipal festivals, restored to their primitive uses. Also the honorable interment of the late pope, whose body lay unburied at Valence, was ordered by the consuls, and a monument erected on the spot where his remains were deposited. The recal of such citizens as had been banished in pursuance of the revolution of the 19th Fructidor next engaged the attention of the government; and a consular decree was passed, restoring the greater number of those individuals; among whom were Barthelemy, Carnot, Pastoret, Portalis, &c. Lucien Bonaparte was constituted minister of the interior; and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his post as minister for foreign affairs, in which capacity he had displayed great talents, and, in con-

cert with Sieyes, he was supposed to have medi- <sup>BOOK</sup>  
tated in his retreat that revolution in the state <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
of which Bonaparte arrived in France so op- <sup>1799.</sup>  
portunely to undertake the execution.

During this series of transactions, the legislative commission was diligently employed in framing the plan of a new constitution, adapted truly and practically to the state and condition of France; and the excellence of which should be proved by the good effects which it was calculated to produce, and not by its conformity to any pre-conceived delusive and visionary theory. Such was now the prevailing and popular language. At length, after a decent interval of delay and discussion, the fabric of a new government, very singular in its construction, but answering perfectly, as it was affirmed, to this description, was completed and approved 22d of Frimaire (Dec. 13), by the consuls and members of the legislative committees, and ordered to be offered forthwith to the acceptance of the French people; and being accordingly submitted to the suffrages of the citizens of the French republic at large, it received the express and avowed assent of a prodigious majority, and the implied and constructive sanction of the whole community\*. Thus brilliantly com-

\* The votes in favor of the new constitution were 3,012,659;  
against it, 1562.

BOOK XXXII. mencing its career, the new constitution was proclaimed with great solemnity and universal acclamation at Paris, 4th of Nivose, year VIII. (Dec. 24, 1799). Previous to the memorable 18th Brumaire, Bonaparte had repeatedly said to his confidential friends, "The revolution which is in agitation will be different from all former ones. It will occasion no new proscriptions, but will cause many of those existing to cease;" and such was unquestionably the idea very generally entertained of it.

The constitutional code is divided into seven chapters: the chief articles contained in them are as follow:

Consular  
constitution deline-  
ated.

**CHAPTER I.** The FRENCH REPUBLIC IS ONE AND INDIVISIBLE; but is distributed into departments and communes. *Every man* born and resident in France, of the age of twenty-one years, who has had his name inscribed in the civil register of his communal district, and afterwards remained a year on the French territory, is a *French citizen*. The citizens of every communal district shall appoint, by their suffrages, those whom they think most worthy of conducting public affairs. There shall be a list of confidence, containing a number of names, equal to a tenth of the number of citizens possessing the right of suffrage. From this communal list the public functionaries of districts shall be

taken. The citizens comprised in the communal lists of a department shall appoint a tenth of their number; and from this departmental list the public functionaries of each department shall be taken. The citizens included in the departmental list shall also appoint a tenth of their number, who shall be eligible to public national functions. Every third year vacancies to be filled; and the names of those who may have forfeited the confidence of their constituents to be withdrawn. But an absolute majority of the electors is necessary to authorise an erasure; and no one shall be erased from the list of those eligible to national functions, merely because his name may have been struck out of any inferior list.

CHAPTER II. An assembly shall be formed under the appellation of the conservatory senate; consisting of sixty members, chosen for life, with fixed salaries amounting to 25,000 francs, to be gradually increased to eighty, by an addition of two members for ten successive years. Four persons named in the constitutional act, *viz.* Sieyes, Ducos, Cambaceres, Le Brûn, shall appoint the first thirty-one members, being the majority of the senate, which shall afterwards complete itself. Subsequent vacancies shall be filled up by the senate, who shall make their choice out of three candidates

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BOOK separately presented to them, by the legislative  
XXXII. body, the tribunate, and the chief consul.

1799. From the national list, transmitted by the different departments, shall be elected by the conservative senate, who shall themselves be ineligible to any other function, the legislators, the tribunes, the consuls, and the judges of cassation. The senate shall also possess the power to confirm or annul every act referred to them as unconstitutional by the tribunate or the government. The sittings of the senate are not public.

CHAPTER III. treats of the legislative power. No new law shall be promulgated unless the plan shall have been first proposed by the executive government to the legislative body; communicated by the legislature to the tribunate; considered and discussed by the members of that assembly; and finally decreed by the legislative body. The executive government is at liberty, in any stage of the discussion, to withdraw the plan or project of any law proposed, and to present it again in a modified state. The tribunate is composed of a hundred members; one-fifth renewable every year; and indefinitely re-eligible while they remain upon the national list. This assembly, after discussing the plan of every law proposed, shall vote for its adoption or rejection; and shall send

three members, chosen from their body, by whom the motives of their decision shall be stated and supported before the legislative body. They are, moreover, authorised to express their opinion as to all laws made or to be made; upon abuses to be corrected, and meliorations to be attempted in every part of the public administration. The legislative body shall be composed of three hundred members, to be also renewed annually by fifths. It shall commence its session every year, 1st Frimaire (Nov. 21), and shall continue sitting at least four months; and it determines by secret scrutiny, without discussion, upon the plan of the laws argued upon in its presence. The sitting of the legislature and tribunate to be public; and the members of both to possess fixed salaries—the tribunes 15,000, and the legislators 10,000, francs.

CHAPTER IV. The executive government is entrusted to three consuls, appointed for ten years, but indefinitely re-eligible. The first or chief consul alone has the power of promulgating laws. He is to name or displace at pleasure the members of the council of state, the ministers, the ambassadors, the officers of the army by sea and land, the members of local administration, and the commissioners of the government at the tribunals. He is to appoint

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BOOK all judges, criminal and civil, as well as justices  
XXXII. of the peace, and the judges of cassation, without  
1799. the power of afterwards superceding them.

Even in the inferior acts of government, the second and third consuls have deliberative voices only, and the liberty of countersigning their opinions; after which the determination of the first consul shall follow. The salary of the first consul is fixed at 500,000 francs; and that of the second and third at 75,000 francs each.

The executive government is to direct the receipts and expenses of the state, conformable to the annual law, which determines the amount of each, and superintends the coinage of money. The government may issue orders to arrest persons suspected of conspiring against the state; but if within ten days they are not set at liberty or brought to trial, it shall be considered, on the part of the minister signing the order, as an act of arbitrary detention. The government is to manage political relations abroad; to conduct negotiations; to declare war; to sign and conclude all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions. Such declarations and treaties to be proposed, discussed, and decreed in the same manner as laws; and no act of government can have effect till it is signed by a minister. Under the direction of the consuls, the council of state is

charged with drawing up the plans of laws and <sup>BOOK</sup> regulations of the public administration; and <sup>XXXII.</sup> the government can only elect or retain in this council such citizens whose names are inscribed on the national list. From this council, three counsellors, to be named at the pleasure of the government, are to support, in the presence of the legislative body, the plan of such law as may be proposed for their adoption. The minister charged with the administration of the public treasury is not at liberty to make provision for any branch of the public expenditure, except by virtue of a law, and only to the extent of the funds provided by law for that purpose; and the detailed accounts of every minister, signed and certified by him, are to be made public. The local administrations established, whether for each communal district, or for more extended portions of territory, are subject to the ministers.

CHAPTER V. relates to the judicial power of the republic. Every communal *arrondissement* shall have one or more justices of the peace, elected immediately by the citizens, for the term of three years, whose office it shall be to endeavour to reconcile the parties applying to them, by arbitrating between them. In civil matters, tribunals shall be established of first instance, and tribunals of appeal; the judges

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~~XXXII.~~ of which shall be taken from the departmental list. In criminal cases, a first jury admits or 1799. rejects the charge, a second jury pronounces on the fact, and the judges apply the punishment. Those crimes which do not amount to corporal punishment are tried before the tribunals of correctional police, *saving* an appeal to the criminal tribunals. There is for the whole republic one tribunal of cassation; the judges composing which are taken from the national list. This tribunal pronounces on appeals against judgements in the last resort. It does not, however, decide upon the merits, but merely reverses judgements given on proceedings in which the constitutional forms are violated—sending the case back for a re-hearing. The judges of all descriptions remain in office for life, unless condemned to forfeit their places, or unless discontinued on the list of eligibles, corresponding with their functions.

CHAPTER VI. Of responsibility. The functions of members, whether of the senate, tribunate, legislative body, or council of state, including ministers of the executive power, do not discharge them from responsibility. Personal crimes committed by citizens of any of these descriptions, are prosecuted before the ordinary tribunals, after a deliberation of the body to which the person under accusation belongs has au-

thorised such prosecution. The ministers of state are moreover responsible for every act of government signed by them; and also for any orders contrary to the constitution, laws, and ordinances. In such cases the tribunate denounces the minister by an act, on which the legislative body deliberates in ordinary form, after having heard or summoned the person accused. The minister, placed in a course of judgement, is tried by a high court, without appeal or resource for a reversal. The high court is composed of judges and jurors. The judges are chosen by the tribunal of cassation from its own members: the jurors are chosen from the national list: the whole according to forms prescribed by the laws. The judges, civil and criminal, for crimes relating to their functions, shall be prosecuted before the tribunals to which the tribunal of cassation may send them after having annulled their acts.

CHAPTER VII. Of general dispositions or principles. The house of every person inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable asylum. It can only be entered in the day, for a special purpose determined by the law, or an order emanating from a public authority. The arrest of a person must first express in form the causes for such arrest, and the law in virtue of which it is ordered. 2dly, It must

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BOOK issue from such functionary only as the law has  
XXXII. invested with the power. 3dly, It must be no-  
1799. tified to the person arrested, and a copy of it left  
with him. No keeper of a prison can receive  
or detain any person without having first trans-  
cribed on his register the act ordering his ar-  
rest, &c. &c. All persons who shall sign or exe-  
cute the arrest of any person whatever—all  
those who, even in the case of arrest authorised  
by law, shall receive or detain the person so ar-  
rested in a place of confinement, not publicly  
or legally designated as such—and all keepers of  
prisons who shall act contrary to the disposi-  
tions here detailed, shall be guilty of the crime  
of arbitrary detention. All severities used in  
arrest, detentions, or executions, other than  
those commanded by the laws, are crimes.

Every man has a right of addressing petitions  
to every constituted authority;—the public  
force is necessarily in a state of obedience; no  
armed body can deliberate;—military crimes  
are subjected to special tribunals, and particular  
forms of judgement;—a national institute is  
charged with receiving discoveries, and perfect-  
ing the arts and sciences;—a committee of seven,  
chosen by the senate from the national list, re-  
gulates and verifies the accounts of the receipts  
and expenses of the public.

The *régime* of the French colonies is deter-

mined by special laws. In case of the revolt of an armed body, or of troubles which menace the safety of the state, the law may suspend in the places, and for the time it determines, the empire of the constitution. This suspension may even be provisionally declared in the same cases by an arrêté of government, the legislative body *not being sitting*, provided this body be convened at a very short time by an article of the same arrêté.

This new and extraordinary constitutional code for the government of France, exhibited, undoubtedly, upon the face of it, indications of political ability and wisdom, far exceeding any discoverable in the directorial system which it superceded. It developed a plan at once vigorous and practicable; and which, low as it reduced the political liberty, or more properly the political power, of the community, displayed a real and even anxious solicitude for the restoration and protection of civil liberty; or in other words for the security of the person and property of each individual. The anomalies of the new constitution, which, by the separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial powers, is unquestionably entitled to be ranked among the few free forms of government subsisting in the world, are chiefly these: 1st The abridgement of the right of free representation,

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 1799. by the creation of a conservative senate em-  
 powered to choose the members of the legisla-  
 tive body from a list returned by the people ;  
 —2dly, The restriction of the legislative power,  
 by vesting in the executive magistrate the initiative  
 privilege of propounding laws ; imperiously  
 confining the legislature to decide upon them by a simple negative or affirmative.  
 But what would have been the consequence of establishing a system of popular liberty in the present state of France, where all the operations of government were invariably and systematically opposed by the two furious factions of jacobins and royalists, actuated indeed by an excessive and inveterate detestation of each other, but at all times ready to combine for the purposes of subversion and destruction ? Certainly any constitution founded upon such principles must have been of transitory duration, and the framers of it would have been guilty of a species of political suicide \*.

\* “ *Cette constitution*,” says a very sagacious and intelligent writer, M. Saladin, in allusion to the government newly established in France, “ doit être envisagée comme une constitution *de circonstance*, qui peut-être conviendra mieux dans sa pratique à la France qu'une autre beaucoup meilleure en théorie, mais qui, adaptée à sa position présente, peut aussi se changer dèsque cette position aura changé.”

*Coup d'Œil politique sur le Continent, A.D. 1800.*  
 The celebrated Helen Maria Williams, who, since the com-

A work published by M. Cabanis, member of the commission for preparing the constitution, and subsequently elected a member of the conservative senate, entitled, by him, "Considerations on social Organisations in general, and particularly on the new Constitution," having

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mencement of the revolution, had chiefly resided in France, thus expresses herself on the subject of the consular system : "The constitution, which has been so much the subject of lamentation and obloquy without, has received a very general welcome within, and is become the regulator of the state. Those generous well-wishers to French liberty, who so eloquently deplore the usurpation and servitude which darken France, will, no doubt, ascribe to less worthy motives than cordial assent this universal acquiescence. But their mistake arises either from ignorance of the real situation of France, or reluctance to renounce their hastily-formed prejudices. The revision of the first constitution, which was not submitted to the people, produced the 10th of August. The late constitution was introduced with the cannon of Vendémiaire ; and it was always doubtful, whether the majority, even of the small number who voted, were in its favor. In the present case, an immense majority have sealed this great public act with their approbation ; and I never heard of any who conjectured that they had thereby either sanctioned usurpation, or consented to servitude. Frenchmen, I suppose, reason like other men ; and, having also had the melancholy advantage of much sad experience for their guide, they have descended a little from the regions of infinite perfectibility, to which they had hitherto soared ; and, finding that it is as yet too soon to attain the best possible, have contented themselves with the best practicable."—*Sketches of Manners in the FRENCH REPUBLIC, Vol. II. p. 68.*

BOOK XXXII. received the approbatory sanction of the commission, was regarded as an authorised apology;

1799. and a most able one it indubitably was for the work which they had framed. A few short extracts from this publication may serve as a lesson of discretion to those who, finding their own visionary speculations unattended with the slightest difficulty, fancy that the great affairs of the world are to be managed with exactly the same degree of facility.

In pointing out the benefit of the new organisation then about to be submitted to the sanction of the people, M. Cabanis says, "The principal object and great advantage of this organisation is, that the people, without exercising any public functions themselves, have the power of designating such men to fill the offices of government as enjoy their confidence. The people do not make laws; they do not administrate; they do not judge; as in the anarchical democracies of the Roman and Grecian republics. But their legislators, their governors, and their judges, are always taken from the objects of their choice. Such is true democracy, with all its advantages. For, in reality, the most perfect equality reigns here among every class of citizens. Any man may be inscribed on the confidential lists, and remain so, passing through each successive reduction. It is sufficient for this

purpose that he obtain the suffrages of his fellow-citizens. What obligation has he to fulfil in order to acquire that pre-eminence? To watch over his conduct, to be careful of his reputation, to cultivate the good opinion of his fellow-citizens, to accustom himself to respect in them the dignity of man—the first source of those mutual attentions, which, introducing a system of true social fraternity, will soften the mild principles of equality into sentiments of habitual affection.

“ Such is democracy purified from all its inconveniences. In this system there is no populace to rouse into sedition, or form into clubs. The ignorant class no longer exercise an improper influence over the legislature or the government. The reign of demagogues is at an end. Every act is done for the people and in the name of the people. None is done by them, or under their imprudent and dictatorial direction. And while their colossal force animates every part of the public organisation; while their sovereignty, the true source and the only source of all legal power, impresses on the acts of government a solemn and sacred character; they live tranquil under the protection of the laws; their faculties unfold themselves; their industry is in full exercise, and extends itself without interruption: they enjoy,

BOOK in a word, the sweet fruits of rational liberty,  
XXXII. ~~1799.~~ guarantied by a government strong enough to  
1799. be always their protector."

In speaking of the powers and privileges conferred upon the conservative senate, M. Cabanis styles it "a body specially commissioned to guaranty the social compact from all attacks, to maintain order and peace in the state, to watch over national liberty as a sacred trust—composed of persons well acquainted with the object in general of all legislation, well instructed in the situation of political affairs, and the state of public opinion; who may, in casting a look over the whole of the territorial divisions of the republic, appoint to the legislative trust, from the national list, men of ability and virtue, and who have an equal interest in maintaining the maxims of liberty and peace in the state. It can scarcely be conceived that a legislative body thus formed can fail of being composed of whatever is most excellent and estimable in the nation.

"The tribunate, also, necessarily composed of men of energy and eloquence, will have the right of making continual appeals to the public; of examining in every mode the acts of government; of denouncing such as it shall judge to be infringements on the constitution; of accusing and prosecuting every agent of the ex-

cutive power; of speaking and printing with <sup>BOOK</sup>  
the most entire independence, its members not <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
being subject to any responsibility, either for <sup>1799.</sup>  
their speeches or writings. The existence of  
this popular magistracy, joined to the liberty of  
the press, which under a strong government  
ought always to be complete, forms one of the  
principal guarantees of the public liberty.

"In a republic like France the executive power ought to be strong. So wide an extent of territory; so vast a mass of population; such a violent concussion of contending interests and passions; a state of civilisation so advanced, and, at the same time, so corrupted; in short, an assemblage of circumstances capable of concentrating and putting in motion whatever is most enlightened, most virtuously energetic, and also whatever is most turbulent and most hostile to civil order, renders it indispensable that the executive department of the state be confided to a power which shall be *irresistible*, and which shall have sufficient confidence in its legal authority never to be tempted to over-step its true limits. Without this essential guarantee of liberty, nothing would be more easy, in the present state of affairs and of opinions, than to carry us back into the revolutionary whirlpool. There is little doubt, also, but foreign intriguers and domestic dema-

BOOK ~~XXXII.~~ gogues will form a confederacy, in order to hinder us from reaching the true point—namely, 1799. the creation of a vigorous government, the force of which should be put in motion only for the support of liberty. A fundamental quality in the executive power is *unity* of thought and action. It is the only real advantage of monarchy; which, under whatever form it may exist, has constantly the corrupting inconvenience of referring to the person that respect which is due only to the office; and of putting into action a will guided by caprice, instead of the immutable dictate of the law\*. Of whatever number of functionaries the executive power of the state be composed, it is clear that one alone ought ultimately to have the power of terminating discussions, and of fixing uncertainties. Unity of thought and action must constantly regulate the central force, whence every movement proceeds. In all cases the movement by which the laws are executed ought to be irresistible, and equally felt in every point, from the

\* In reply to this observation of M.Cabanis, it ought, in justice to our own excellent form of government, to be remarked, that the advantage which republics may boast over hereditary monarchies, as to the probable superiority of an elected over an hereditary chief, is, if any judgement may be formed from an appeal to experience, far over-balanced by the evils and mischiefs hitherto annexed to kingly and consular elections.

first link of the chain to the most distant ramifications. As the execution of the laws ought to meet with no resistance, so at the same time the limits of the executive power should be marked out with exactness. The first arbitrary act is not only the first step towards tyranny, but also to those insurrectional movements which, in a country and at a time of revolutions, are not long in taking place."

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In conformity to the provisions of the new constitution, now actually accepted and proclaimed in due form, Bonaparte was declared General Bonaparte declared first consul. first consul of the French republic, and Cambaceres and Lebrun second and third consuls; the last of these was chosen for five years only, in order to establish in future a regular alternation of elections in respect to those great but subordinate magistrates. Sieyes and Ducos, the two ex-directors and visionary consuls, who were invested with the high and transcendent power of nominating in the first instance the majority of the conservative senate, became members of that assembly; and the former, justly supposed to have had the chief share in framing the new constitution, was rewarded by the legislative commission with the grant of an estate, part of the national domain, situated at Crosne, in the vicinity of the metropolis, of the annual value of about .

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15000 francs. The choice of members to sit in the tribunal and legislative assemblies, as well as in the council of state, was highly approved and applauded by the public; and, though the majority were doubtless of the number of those who were either directly or indirectly parties in the overthrow of the late government, many were admitted whose characters were good, and whose principles moderate, however originally and openly adverse to the revolution by which that great event was accomplished.

Renewal of  
the nego-  
tiation with  
America.

Soon after the instalment of the new government, arrived in France Messrs. Elsworth, Henry, and Murray, late resident at the Hague, as ambassadors from the United States of America, to terminate by a treaty all the subsisting differences between the two republics. At the close of the last year, Mr. Adams, president of the United States, had, on the opening of the congress, explained the causes of the ill success which had attended the former negotiation. He spake in language by no means the most conciliatory of the acts of the French government, which he declared, "instead of putting a stop to the depredations of the French privateers, had sanctioned those depredations; and while such principles and

practices prevailed, it was impossible to support <sup>BOOK</sup>  
their honor and their rights except by a firm <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
resistance." He alleged "the impossibility of <sup>1799.</sup>  
sending again another embassy, without de-  
grading the nation, until France had given a sa-  
tisfactory assurance that the sacred right of am-  
bassadors should be respected; and as no such  
assurance had taken place, he inferred the ne-  
cessity of making vigorous preparations for  
war."

The martial disposition of the president was very ill seconded by the general temper of the people; the most intelligent of whom saw the absurdity of involving the country in hostilities on account of rights so doubtful in their nature, and of interests comparatively so trivial in their extent. The president had the prudence to yield to this repugnance, and early in the present year he informed the senate that he had named new ambassadors-plenipotentiary to treat with France, who were not, however, to embark for Europe till assurances were given that they should be received in the characters, and enjoy the privileges, of public ministers; and till a minister or ministers should be appointed with equal powers to treat with them. The directory, who, notwithstanding what they styled "the irritating and hostile measures of the president," had made repeated advances towards a recon-

BOOK ciliation\*, having complied with these conditions, the American ambassadors landed immediately after the events of the 18th Brumaire, and met with a very courteous reception from the new government.

Death of  
general  
Washing-  
ton.

1799. In the succeeding month of December (1799) America sustained an irreparable loss in the death of the venerable Washington, to whose memory, as to that of the friend, the father, and the defender of his country, the greatest public honors were justly paid. This celebrated personage cannot, perhaps, be classed among the men of superior genius, or of very splendid talents. Yet it must be allowed that he combined in his own character an assemblage of qualities, moral and intellectual, which are rarely found in the same person; and these he possessed without the alloy of any considerable imperfection or defect. To an inflexible integrity, a pure and philosophical disinterestedness, he added the most perfect self-government, the most invincible constancy, and determined perseverance. The characteristic of his understanding was rectitude, no less than of his heart. He had a clear and extensive discernment of men and things; but, far from being pertinaciously attached to his own opinions, he

\* Vide M. Talleyrand's letter to Pichon, laid before the senate of the UNITED STATES, February 1799.

paid rather too much than too little deference to those of others. As a commander, he was actuated by a high sense of honor, and manifested, on many occasions, great personal courage. His talents seemed rather adapted to defensive than offensive war; and he was distinguished in the field by vigilance, fortitude, secrecy, more than by great reach of penetration or ardor of enterprise. In this respect, as well as in all others, he was peculiarly fortunate—that his situation corresponded perfectly both with his intellectual and moral endowments, and exhibited them in the most conspicuous point of view. In the character of that man, collectively considered, there must have been something transcendently great and noble, to whom, under the pressure of the most alarming difficulties and dangers, all America looked up, as to the guardian and protector of his country. On his wisdom and on his valor, they relied with confidence for safety. Never, in any age or nation, was a trust so great, so entire, so universal, placed in any individual; and never did any individual more completely satisfy the lofty and sanguine expectations which had been previously formed of him.

An affair, trivial in its nature, but disagreeable in its consequences, occurred at this period, which must not be passed over in total silence.

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BOOK <sup>XXXII.</sup> Two very conspicuous characters in the late  
Irish rebellion, Tandy and Blackwell, who held  
regular commissions in the French service, hav-  
ing been shipwrecked on the coast of Norway,  
were, in their way to France, detained at Ham-  
burg, by order of the magistracy, at the instance  
of the English resident. The arrest and con-  
sequent imprisonment of these individuals oc-  
casioned frequent reclamations from the French  
government to the senate of Hamburg, which  
was thus placed in a very unpleasant dilemma,  
between the haughty and peremptory demands  
of the English court, seconded with violence by  
that of Petersburg, on the one hand, and the ur-  
gent remonstrances of the French directory on  
the other. At length the senate resolved to de-  
liver them up to the English resident—possibly  
on some secret assurance of personal safety  
to the prisoners, who were not prosecuted  
to extremity for the crime of which they had  
been guilty. Exasperated at this step, the  
French government passed a decree, declaring  
it to be a violation of the law of nations; or-  
dering the agents of France immediately to quit  
the city of Hamburg, and laying an embargo  
on the vessels of the Hamburgers in the ports  
of the republic. The senate, trembling with ap-  
prehension, addressed an apologetic letter to  
the chief consul, stating the circumstances

Embar-  
rassments  
of the se-  
nate of  
Hamburg.

which compelled them to this fatal necessity. <sup>BOOK</sup> <sup>XXXII.</sup> This probably had its effect; but the government of France could not avowedly admit any excuse from that of Hamburg, for so gross a departure from its neutrality. <sup>1799.</sup> “ We have received, gentlemen,” said the first consul, “ your letter. It does not justify you. Courage and virtue are the preservers of states; cowardice and vice, their ruin. You have violated hospitality. This never happened among the most barbarous hordes of the desert. Your fellow-citizens will for ever reproach you.” No marks of serious resentment, however, followed, and the anger of the French government was insensibly appeased.

The imperial court of St. Petersburg had, since the accession of the emperor Paul, displayed its passionate detestation of the French republic in every possible mode. Thinking that the government of Denmark had given too much encouragement to the diffusion of French principles, he issued an *ukase* for all Danish vessels to quit immediately the Russian ports: but the further indications of his anger were prevented by the appearance of a royal ordonnance at Copenhagen, denouncing jacobinism, and proscribing, with the utmost severity of language, its doctrines and adherents. Sweden was still more compliant; and, on the requisition of the em- <sup>Haughty conduct of the emperor Paul.</sup>

BOOK XXII. peror, acceded, by her public declaration at least, to the new coalition formed against France.

The court of Madrid, however, set equally at nought the remonstrances and the threats of the Northern despot; on which a manifesto was published, bearing date 15th of July (1799), by the court of Russia, distinguished by all that pride, passion, and folly, which, from the commencement of his reign, had marked the character of this “magnanimous ally” of Britain\*.

\* This was the fashionable phraseology of the times. The KING himself had adopted it in his speech at the commencement of the last session of parliament: and towards the close of it, Mr. Pitt (the house of commons being in a committee of supply, June 7, 1799) used the following choice and courtly language. “There is no reason, no ground, to fear that this *magnanimous prince* will act with infidelity in a cause in which he is so sincerely engaged; and which he knows to be the cause of all good government, of religion, and humanity, against a monstrous medley of tyranny, injustice, vanity, irreligion, ignorance, and folly. Of such an ally there can be no reason to be jealous. Does it not promise the DELIVERANCE of EUROPE, when we find the confederate armies rapidly advancing in a career of victory the most brilliant and auspicious?”—“Will it be regarded with apathy, that the exalted prince who now, *fortunately for the world*, sways the Russian sceptre, has already, by his promptness and decision, given a turn to the affairs of men?”—Nearly at this period, John Parry proprietor, John Vint printer, and George Ross publisher, of the daily paper called the COURIER, received judgement of fine and imprisonment in the

"Fruitless have been all our efforts," says his <sup>BOOK</sup> <sub>XXXII.</sub> czarish majesty, "to re-conduct that power into <sup>1799.</sup> <sub>The em-</sub> the true path of honor and glory, and to unite <sub>nperor</sub> <sub>Paul's ma-</sub> with us. We declare war against the king of Spain, and we consequently give orders for <sub>nifesto</sub> <sub>against</sub> <sub>Spain.</sub> <sup>questrating</sup> and confiscating all the Spanish merchant-ships which are at present in our ports." The answer of the court of Madrid was spirited and proper. His catholic majesty declared, that "the alliance which he had formed with the French republic, and which had ex-

King's Bench—the first for six months, and to find security for his good behaviour for five years; and the two latter for one month each—for a certain *libellous* paragraph on the said emperor, inserted in the said paper—stating the emperor of Russia to be a tyrant among his own subjects, and ridiculous to the rest of Europe. It was not pretended that count Woronzoff, the Russian ambassador at the court of London, had made any complaint whatever of this *libel*. That truly respectable personage knew too well the genius of the English press, and of the English nation, to think such a matter worthy of notice. But lord Grenville, secretary of state for foreign affairs, acknowledged, and even boasted, in the house of peers, that he alone had directed this prosecution; of which he claimed all the merit and all the responsibility. The *delinquents*, in consequence of a suggestion liberally thrown out in the course of his speech by the attorney-general, who did not appear equally proud of the part which he was obliged to take in this affair, applied to the ambassador to interpose in their behalf; but the count properly answered that he could not interfere to stop the course of a prosecution instituted by the government of the country where he resided.

BOOK cited the jealousy of certain powers, he should  
XXXII. always endeavour to maintain ;—that the object of  
1799. the coalition, newly formed, was less the chime-  
rical and apparent desire of re-establishing order  
than of introducing confusion, by domineering  
over such nations as did not enter into its ambi-  
tious views ;—that Russia had been most for-  
ward in the exercise of this domination, its em-  
peror having usurped titles that no way be-  
longed to him ;—that the king of Spain would  
not stoop to notice the incoherent and insolent  
language of the Russian manifesto, but that he  
would continue to repel every aggression which  
presumption and a system of false combinations  
might direct against him.”

The hatred of Paul against the French re-  
public displayed itself, however, in other and  
less obnoxious acts. To the nominal sovereign  
of France, Louis XVIII, he gave a splendid  
asylum at Mittau, the capital of Courland ; he  
received a number of French emigrant nobles  
into his service ; and he extended his munifi-  
cence to the dispersed and ejected knights of  
Malta. The members of this institution assem-  
bled at Petersburg, October 1798, took upon  
them to elect the emperor grand-master of the  
order ; and he not only accepted the office, but  
immediately began to exercise the functions of  
it with great pomp and ostentation. Count

Lotta and prince Caprioli, the papal and Neapolitan envoys, were, among others, honored with the grand cross; and, to the ancient laws of the order, his czarish majesty added many new regulations, suggested by his own fantastic caprice. Early in the present year, the emperor notified in form to the respective courts of Europe that he had accepted the title of grandmaster of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem; and directions were given to the ministers of government not to receive any letters addressed to his imperial majesty in which this title should be omitted.

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XXXII.

1799.

The emperor Paul assumes the title of grandmaster of St. John of Jerusalem.

It had long been known to all Europe, that Isabella, queen of Portugal, had, for many years, been wholly incapable of exercising any of the duties or functions of government; and, in the month of July, in the present year, the prince of Brasil published a decree, declaring himself prince-regent, and ordering all acts and ordonnances of state to be made out in his own name; "on account," as the edict tenderly expresses it, "of the melancholy, verified, and notorious infirmity, with which, for seven years, the queen his mother had been afflicted, and which, in common language, would be considered an insanity."

Prince of  
Brasil de-  
clares him-  
self regent  
of Portu-  
gal.

In order to complete the history of this ever-memorable year, it now remains only to exhib-

**B O O K** ~~XXXII.~~ bit a succinct view of those transactions which, in the course of it, had taken place in India, 1799. and which will be found to have a close connexion with the celebrated expedition into Egypt.

**Transac-**  
**tions in**  
**India.**

Ever since the peace of Seringapatam, A.D. 1792, dictated by lord Cornwallis, after a glorious and decisive war, Tippoo Sultaun, instead of endeavouring to reconcile his mind to the condition of his circumstances, harbored in secret a violent animosity against the English; and cherished the most delusive hopes and dangerous projects of re-instating himself in his former greatness, and of being ultimately revenged on those who had caused him to suffer such cruel injuries and mortifications.

In the summer of 1796, the suspicions, designs, and military preparations of Tippoo Sultaun, obliged the government of Madras to assemble, at a great expense, an army of observation in the Carnatic, which rendered it also impracticable to extend, so far as was intended, the operations of the company against the European enemies of Great Britain in Asia. Early in the year 1797, it appears that the sultaun had required and received the official written opinions of all his ministers on the best practicable mode of introducing a French army into the Deccan, and driving the English out of India; and a disguised

embassy was soon after sent to general Malartic, <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 governor of the Mauritius, under the pretence <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
 of a mercantile adventure\*. Hussein Ali, one <sup>1799.</sup>  
 of these ambassadors, in his narrative of their  
 proceedings, dated December 1797, relates that  
 the governor was addressed by them to the fol-  
 lowing effect:—"What do you wait for? His  
 majesty is ready to afford you succours. Show  
 yourselves in India. The unbounded violence  
 and oppression of the English have rendered all  
 the princes of India their enemies: they are  
 enfeebled on every side; and from the great ex-  
 tent of territory which they have acquired by  
 artifice, they are dispersed in all quarters. Look  
 upon the present time as a most fortunate op-  
 portunity. Send a large army, and an extensive  
 train of artillery, to the assistance of our sovereign,  
 and, effectually chastising our mutual enemies,  
 drive them out of India. It is well known to  
 the French republic, that both his late majesty  
 and our present sovereign have at all times  
 been the friends and well-wishers of the French  
 nation."

These overtures were received, as may easily  
 be supposed, with great complacency; but what  
 appears very surprising is, that secrecy on the  
 part of the French government was altogether

\* Vide WOOD'S Review of the War in MYSORE, and  
 PAPERS annexed *passim*.

~~BOOK~~  
 XXXII. 1799. despised or neglected; insomuch, that, even during the residence at Mauritius of the Mysore ambassadors, who were by their own sovereign expressly prohibited from making their mission public, general Malartic did not hesitate to publish a proclamation (dated January 1798), in which he states openly and avowedly the wishes of the sultaun to form an alliance offensive and defensive with France, for the purpose of expelling the English from India: and stating that dispatches had been transmitted to the directory, he invites, in the mean time, all citizens of France who may be disposed to serve as volunteers, to enrol themselves under the banners of Tippoo\*; and an actual supply, though small, both of men and arms, was soon after sent to Mysore under the command of general Chapuy. The ambassadors had brought from Mysore a

\* "Having communicated to them," say the instructions of the ambassadors, *i. e.* to the governor Malartic and the admiral Sercey, "your arrival, and heard what they have to say, you will tell them that they must by no means pay you the compliment of going themselves, or of sending persons to meet you, nor show open marks of friendship towards the Khoodadaud Sirkar," *i. e.* the Mysore kingdom; "nor outwardly show you any attentions; in order that your mission may not become public." Again: "You will also state, that, on account of the secrecy of your mission, jewels and khelauts, &c. have not been sent on the part of the Khoodadaud Sirkar," &c.—Wood's REVIEW.

letter written by the sultaun to the French direc- <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 tory, whom he styles “the high and exalted, the <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
 magnificent and distinguished in station, the kind <sup>1799.</sup>  
 refuge of friends,” &c.; in which he refers them  
 to the explanations of the ambassadors; and,  
 expressing his confident reliance on their ancient  
 and cordial friendship, concludes with wishing,  
 “that the garden of time may produce the fruits  
 of their mutual wishes.”

On the arrival of the earl of Mornington, <sup>Earl of</sup>  
 chief governor of India, and successor to sir <sup>Morning-</sup>  
 John Shore, in the spring of 1798, at Calcutta, <sup>ton ap-</sup>  
 he received the most indubitable evidence of the <sup>pointed go-</sup>  
 duplicity and insincerity of the sultaun; and in <sup>vernor-ge-</sup>  
 a very able minute, subsequently entered by the <sup>neral of In-</sup>  
 new governor in the journal of the secret depart-  
 ment\*, he states fully and satisfactorily the  
 grounds of the resolution which he then adopted,  
 to declare war against him. The governor as-  
 serts, “that Tippoo Sultaun has, since the con-  
 clusion of the treaty of Seringapatam, received  
 the most unequivocal proofs of the constant  
 disposition of the company to acknowledge and  
 confirm all his just rights, and to remove  
 every cause of jealousy which might tend to  
 interrupt the continuance of peace—although the  
 servants of the company in India have not been

\* August 12, 1798.

BOOK  
XXXII. ignorant of the implacable sentiments of revenge which he has preserved without abatement since 1799. the hour of his last defeat. Tippoo Sultaun," says the governor, "cannot allege even the pretext of a grievance to palliate the character of his recent acts: He has, indeed, alleged none, but has continually professed the most sincere desire to maintain the relations of peace and amity with the company. In his letters to sir John Shore, received at Fort-William April 26, 1798, Tippoo declares that his friendly heart is disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord established between the two states; and he signifies his desire, that sir John Shore would impress lord Mornington with a sense of the friendship and unanimity subsisting between the two states. He having," as the governor-general remarks in conclusion, "prepared the means and instruments of a war of extermination against us, and of annihilating our empire, the present is not merely the case of an injury to be repaired, but of the public safety to be secured against the present and future designs of an irreconcilable, desperate, and treacherous enemy."

The intrigues of the sultaun against the English, as the governor-general appears from the tenor of his minute to have been well aware, had by no means been confined to the French

nation. This prince had even, previous to the conclusion of the war terminated by the treaty of Seringapatam, carried on a correspondence, marked with the same hostile views, at the court of Zemaun Shah, sovereign of the rich and populous provinces of Candahar, Cabul, Cachemire, &c. in the north of India, lying to the west of the Indus, and extending eastward of the Attock, to the confines of the nation of the Seiks.— Ahmed Abdalla, ancestor of Zemaun Shah, was a warlike Afghan chief, who followed the fortunes of the famous Shah Nadir, emperor of Persia, in his invasion of Hindostan, A. D. 1739. In the confusion which ensued on the assassination of Nadir Shah, he assumed the ensigns of royalty, dismembering both empires of some of their fairest provinces. During his reign, which lasted to the year 1773, he made no less than seven hostile incursions into Hindostan; taking possession at one time of the imperial city of Dehli; and at another giving the united powers of the Mahratta empire a dreadful overthrow, at the great and bloody battle fought A. D. 1761 on the plains of Paniput. He was succeeded by his son Timur Shah; who died in the year 1792, and left his crown to his son Zemaun Shah, the reigning sovereign, who resided alternately at the cities of Candahar and Cabul. The revenues of this monarch are ample;

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Tippoo Sul-  
taun's se-  
cret nego-  
tiations  
with the  
king of  
Candahar.

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1799. his military establishment, consisting of 150,000 cavalry, besides a numerous infantry, very formidable; and both in court and camp he maintains great state and magnificence.

The restless and sanguine spirit of Tippoo Sultaun, which seems to have been little under the guidance of an enlightened or rational discernment, led him eagerly to court the alliance of this powerful but remote sovereign, and by every possible means to engage him to second his own secret projects of ambition and revenge. It appears, from the series of papers found in the cabinet of the sultaun, and since made public, that Zemaun Shah was strongly solicited by him, and at length prevailed upon, to undertake an expedition to Dehli, in order to depose the old and wretched emperor Shah Allum, who had been reduced to a state of absolute dependency upon the Mahrattas, by whose jealous and barbarous policy he had been inhumanly deprived of his sight, though this helpless and miserable representative of the illustrious house of Timur pathetically implored "that his eyes, which he had for so many years past employed only in reading the sacred Koran, might for the short remainder of his life be spared to him."

When Zemaun Shah had established his power at Dehli, in which imperial city he set up a new emperor, or shadow of an emperor, of the house

of Timur, he was further solicited by Tippoo <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 Sultaun to advance into the Deccan, where the <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
 sovereign of Mysore would join him with all his  
 forces, in order "to exterminate the infidels."—  
 "Thanks to God," says the sultaun, in a letter  
 written with his own hand to the king of Candahar,  
 "that at this happy time I have the satisfaction  
 to hear that your majesty, the ornament of the  
 throne, the promoter of religion, the destroyer  
 of heretics and oppressors, &c. employs your  
 whole time and exerts every faculty in support  
 of the enlightened religion, and is wholly de-  
 voted to its cause. In return for this, a hundred  
 thousand of the followers of the faith assemble every  
 Friday in the mosques of the capital, and, after the  
 prescribed forms of prayer, supplicate the Bestower  
 of all things according to the words of scripture—  
 'Grant thy aid, O God, to those who aid the  
 religion of Mohummud, and let us be of that  
 number at the last day.—Destroy those, O God,  
 who would destroy the religion of Mohummud,  
 and let us *not* be of that number at the last day.'  
 Your majesty must doubtless have been informed  
 that my exalted ambition has for its object a  
 holy war."

By a subsequent letter to the vizier Gauffer Khan, it appears that these advances had been favorably received. "You wrote," says the sultaun of Mysore, "that you had availed your-

~~BOOK~~  
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self of a proper opportunity to represent my circumstances in the fullest manner to his majesty, and that his majesty had been pleased to signify in reply, that, when the victorious standard should be displayed in the direction of Hindostan, it was his majesty's design to honor me with marks of his boundless favor, and to promote the important objects in view. The pen is incapable of describing my gratitude for this. To cement the foundations of friendship and attachment, two persons, true syuds by birth, who are among the highest in rank of the servants of the Khooodadaud Sirkar\*, are now departed with a letter calculated to inspire friendship, addressed to his majesty, the protector of the faith, Zemaun Shah."

In another letter, dated 7th Shabaun, 1211 Hejira, or 5th February, 1797, the sultaun of Mysore says to the king of Candahar, in terms still more explicit than the former—"By the favor of God, your majesty, the ornament of the throne of power and greatness, has for the most part occupied your time in extending the dominion of the Prophet, in destroying the foundation of heresy and infidelity, and in estab-

\* *Khooodadaud Sirkar*, literally translated, is the "Country given of God."—Such was the appellation which the sultaun affected to bestow on that part of his empire which remained to him after the treaty of Seringapatam.

blishing the basis of the true faith, and con-  
tinues so to do. The fame of this has amply  
pervaded the world. These circumstances, which  
are as well known from east to west as the sun  
in the centre of the heavens, suggested to my  
mind that, agreeably to the command of God  
and his apostles, declared in these words—‘ Slay  
the divisor of the god-head’—we should unite in  
carrying on a holy war against the infidels, and  
free the region of Hindostan from the contami-  
nation of the enemies of our religion. The fol-  
lowers of the faith in these territories, always  
assembling at a select time (on Fridays), offer up  
their prayers in the words—‘ O God, slay the  
infidels who have closed thy way! Let their sins  
return upon their own heads, with the punish-  
ment which is due to them!’—I trust that Al-  
mighty God, for the sake of his beloved, will  
accept their prayers; and, through the merits of  
a holy cause, prosper our mutual exertions to  
that end. May the sun of dignity and splen-  
dor rise from the horizon of success and glory!”

In a succeeding letter to the vizier Wuffadar Khan, he declares “ the extreme satisfaction he felt at the determination of the Shah to proceed to Dehli. The sum of my wishes is,” says he, “ that, his majesty uniting with me, we should proceed to chastise those abandoned infidels, and not to suffer our present dominion to depart

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BOOK from our hands." He expresses his hope, "that,   
XXXII. through the divine goodness, the chief of the in-  
1799. fidels will be consumed and confounded by the  
avenging fire of divine vengeance; and he feel-  
ingly laments the "faded splendor of the faith  
throughout India."

In the same spirit, the king of Candahar wrote with his own hand to the sultaun of Mysore as follows:—"As the object of your well-directed mind is the destruction of the infidels, and the extension of the faith of the Prophet, if it please God, we shall soon march with our conquering armies to wage war with the infidels and polytheists, and to free those regions from the contamination of those shameless tribes with the edge of the sword, so that the inhabitants of these regions may be restored to comfort and repose. Be therefore perfectly satisfied in this respect." It is remarkable, that, amid the reiterated denunciations of Tippoo Sultaun to the court of Candahar against the infidels, and his declarations of vengeance and extermination, no distinction whatever is made between the English and the French; and there can be no rational ground to doubt that his schemes of destruction ultimately comprehended both; purposing, agreeably to the well-known treachery of his disposition, to make the latter, in quality of his friends and allies, the unsuspecting instru-

ments of their own ruin, by assisting first to effect that of their antagonists and rivals. Neither can it escape the observation of the intelligent investigator, that the correspondence, immediate or immediate, of the sultaun of the Mysore with the French government, is replete with artifice and dissimulation, but discovers no traces of a truly penetrating or comprehensive mind.

In a letter to the executive directory, dated from Seringapatam, April 2d, 1797, he announces his intention to nominate ambassadors in order to testify to the government of France his friendship, and to renew the alliance anciently subsisting between them. "In the writing which I send to you," says he, "you will perceive my attachment, my disposition, and the sentiments of my heart, for your nation, which I have always loved. Study the welfare of my country, as I study that of yours." In a dispatch of the same date, addressed to the representatives of the people residing in the Isles of France and Bourbon, he declares that "he has done all in his power, since the commencement of their revolution, to make known to them the sentiments of his heart. I perceive," thus he expresses himself, "it is now the moment for me to revive the friendship which I have always entertained for your nation: I acknowledge the sublimity of your constitution; and, as a proof of my sincerity,

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1799.

Tippoo Sul<sup>taun's se-  
cret negotia-  
tions with the  
French di-  
rectory.</sup>

~~BOOK XXXII.~~ I propose to your nation and to you a treaty of alliance and fraternity, which shall be for ever indissoluble, and shall be founded on republican principles of sincerity and good faith. If you will assist me, in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India; the springs which I have touched, have put all India in motion."

~~Tippoo Sul-taun's se-  
cret nego-  
tiations at  
the courts  
of Poonah  
and Hyder-  
abad.~~

It must be remarked, that the sultaun, exclusive of the powerful succours he expected from Candahar, relied much, though upon slender grounds, on the effect of his intrigues and machinations at the two courts of Poonah and Hyderabad. In a dispatch, dated April 21, 1797, to general Mengalon, commander of the French land forces at the Mauritius, he informs the general "that the nizam is very ill, and that his great age leaves no hopes of recovery; that the nizam has a son much attached to the sultaun, who is expected to succeed; that Mada Row, the great support of the English interest at Poonah, is dead; and that a civil war is kindled in the Mahratta states. He exultingly relates the triumphs of Zemaun Shah, who had in the preceding year advanced as far as Lahore, and who was at this time in possession of Dehli, in the vicinity of which city he had attacked and completely defeated the army of the Mahrattas. "This," says the sultaun, "is the act of Providence. The nabob Asoph ul Dowla," also, he relates, "hav-

ing heard of the arrival of Zemaun Shah at Dehli, commenced hostilities against the English, and with some advantage. On the coast of Coromandel," says the sultaun, " from Masulipatam to Madras and Arcot, their tyranny has excited revolt among all the princes, powerful and weak, who all assert their rights. I inform you of these events, in order to prove to you, that it is now the moment for you to invade India: with little trouble we shall drive them out—rely on my friendship."

But, on the other hand, in a letter addressed to the ambassadors of Mysore at the Mauritius, dated February 27, 1798, the governor, general Malartic, expresses, in strong terms, his suspicions of the duplicity of the sultaun; and he declares, "that the officers and volunteers who are to accompany the ambassadors to India, shall not make a journey of five hundred leagues to ascertain what pay Tippoo Sultaun may choose to fix for them." And he says, "that he shall order them not to disembark, until Tippoo Sultaun shall have satisfied them on this point." The same governor, in a dispatch to the sultaun dated the 7th of March following, thought it expedient thus to practise upon his vanity:—" Write to all the princes of Hindostan, and tell them that the time is come to rid yourselves of your common enemy. Your courage, and the

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~~BOOK~~ resources of your genius, are known to me:  
~~XXXII.~~

both will every where attend the son of the great  
 1799. Hyder Ali Kahn: you are destined to surpass  
 even his fame."

Tippoo Sul-  
taun's de-  
ceitful pro-  
fessions of  
friendship  
to the  
English  
gov-  
ern-  
ment.

Matters were now ripening to a crisis, and the disimulation of the sultaun was carried to an extraordinary length. In a letter written to the governor-general, lord Mornington, July the 18th, 1798, he says, "By the favor of God, the bonds of friendship and union are firmly drawn between the two states; and I am to the last degree disposed to give additional strength to the beneficial system of amity and peace." The reply of the governor, who would not entirely relinquish the hope of gaining Tippoo by a display of kindness and confidence, is liberal and politic: he declares, "that the sultaun's letter had given him great satisfaction;" and at the same time informs him, "that a long-disputed claim respecting the sultaun's right to the district of Wynaad, had been determined in his favor."

On the 20th July, two days only subsequent to his friendly letter to the earl of Mornington, the sultaun being then at his palace of Seringapatam, signed a dispatch to the executive directory, containing also the strongest professions of friendship and attachment, which, to use his own words, "should endure as long as

the sun and moon shine in the heavens; and which shall be so solid, that the most extraordinary events shall neither break nor disunite them." He then states, that he had sent to them ambassadors fully authorised to represent him, and to make proposals in his name to the French government; and he concludes with saying, " May the heavens and the earth meet and unite, rather than the alliance of the two nations shall suffer the smallest alteration!" The plan of the alliance is subjoined, in which the sultaun proposes that the directory shall send to his assistance ten or fifteen thousand troops, and a naval force, which he will undertake to provide with all necessaries. He desires that the disembarkation of the troops may take place at some port on the Coromandel coast, where the sultaun will join them with his whole army; it being his intention to commence operations in the heart of the enemy's country. All the conquests which may be made from the enemy, excepting those which the sultaun had been obliged to cede by the treaty of 1792, shall be equally divided between the two nations—the same division shall also be made of the Portuguese colonies.

The governor-general, lord Mornington, in his elaborate minute of the 12th August, states, "that since the conclusion of the treaty of Seringapatam, the British governments in India Discreet conduct of lord Morn-ington.

BOOK have uniformly conducted themselves towards  
XXXII. Tippoo Sultaun, not only with the most exact  
1799. attention to the principles of moderation, justice,  
and good faith, but have endeavoured, by every  
practicable means, to conciliate his confidence,  
and to mitigate his vindictive spirit." This, in-  
deed, appears to have been strictly true; and no  
less might be expected from the equitable  
and conciliatory spirit of sir John Shore's ad-  
ministration. And it must be acknowledged that  
the new governor-general discovered great soli-  
citude to regulate all his proceedings conforma-  
bly to the same general plan of policy. Even  
after the designs of Tippoo had become too  
public to admit of doubt, the efforts of lord  
Mornington to induce him to abandon them,  
and to revert to his former relations of peace  
and amity with Great Britain, were not re-  
mitted; and, at the same time, the requisite mea-  
sures both of precaution and firmness were  
adopted, to give efficacy to the final determina-  
tion. "If," says his lordship, "the conduct of  
Tippoo Sultaun had been of a nature which  
could be termed ambiguous or suspicious, it  
might be our duty to resort, in the first instance;  
to his constructions of proceedings, which, being  
of a doubtful character, might admit of a satis-  
factory explanation; but where there is no doubt,  
there can be no matter for explanation. The

act of Tippoo's ambassadors, ratified by himself, <sup>B O O K</sup>  
 and accompanied by the landing of a French <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
 force in his country, is a public, unqualified, and  
 unambiguous declaration of war; aggravated by  
 an avowal that the object of the war is neither  
 explanation, reparation, nor security, but the  
 total destruction of the British government in  
 India."

Deeply impressed with these sentiments, the <sup>The com-</sup>  
 governor-general transmitted secret orders to the <sup>pany's</sup>  
 presidency of Madras, for assembling the forces <sup>forces as-</sup>  
 of the company at Vellore; and that government <sup>semble at</sup>  
 making strong representations respecting the <sup>Vellore.</sup>  
 difficulties attending the execution of the order,  
 his lordship not only prohibited all future discussion  
 of its policy, but, for the purpose of hastening  
 the necessary preparations, he repaired in per-  
 son to the city of Madras. Previous to his de-  
 parture from Bengal, he wrote (November 4) a  
 letter to the sultaun, informing him of the in-  
 vasion of Egypt by the French, in contempt of  
 the treaties subsisting between France and the  
 Sublime Porte; and apprising him, at the same  
 time, of the great and decisive naval victory of  
 Aboukir, "which," his lordship says, "is to be  
 ascribed to the justice of the British cause, and  
 to the aid of divine Providence\*!" And he in-

\* To what, then, were Bonaparte's victories on land to be

~~BOOK~~ fers, that all communication being thus cut off  
~~XXXII.~~ between Egypt and Europe, the French troops  
1799. which have landed there must perish either by  
famine or the sword. "Confident," says his  
lordship, "from the union and attachment sub-  
sisting between us, that this intelligence will  
afford you sincere satisfaction, I could not deny  
myself the pleasure of communicating it."

The governor-general's energetic remonstrance to Tippoo Sultaun. But disdaining longer to wear the mask of  
friendship, on the 8th of November the governor-  
general wrote again, and in a style of great dis-  
pleasure:—"In no age or country," says his  
lordship, "were the baneful and insidious arts of  
intrigue ever cultivated with such success, as they  
are at present by the French nation. I sincerely  
wish that no impression had been produced on  
your discerning mind by that dangerous people;  
but my situation enables me to know that they have  
reached your presence, and have endeavoured to  
pervert the wisdom of your councils, and to  
instigate you to war against those who have given  
you no provocation. It is impossible that you  
should suppose me to be ignorant of the inter-  
course which subsists between you and the  
French; whom you know to be the inveterate

ascribed? It is wonderful that the ceaseless vicissitude of  
human affairs should not long ago have demonstrated to  
men of understanding, the gross impropriety of these pre-  
sumptuous boasts.

enemies of the company, and to be now engaged in an unjust war with the British nation. You cannot imagine me to be indifferent to the transactions which have passed between you and the enemies of my country; nor does it appear necessary or proper that I should any longer conceal from you the surprise and concern with which I perceived you disposed to involve yourself in all the ruinous consequences of a connexion, which threatens not only to subvert the foundations of friendship between you and the company, but to introduce into the heart of your kingdom the principles of anarchy and confusion, to shake your own authority, to weaken the obedience of your subjects, and to destroy the religion which you revere. Whatever my reluctance to credit such reports might be, prudence required both of me and of the company's allies, that we should adopt certain measures of precaution and self-defence; and these have accordingly been taken, as you will, no doubt, have observed. The British government and the allies wishing, nevertheless, to live in peace and friendship with all their neighbours; entertaining no projects of ambition, nor any views in the least incompatible with their respective engagements; and looking to no other objects than the permanent security and tranquillity of their own dominions and subjects;

BOOK  
XXXII.  
1799.

BOOK will always be ready, as they now are, to afford  
XXXII. you every demonstration of these pacific sentiments." 1799. The governor-general concludes this judicious letter with informing the sultaun, "that the peshwa and the nizam concur with him in the observations now offered and recommended to his most serious consideration; and he proposes, in their behalf and his own, to send major Doveton (an officer well known to the sultaun), to explain more fully and particularly the means of removing all existing distrust and suspicion, and of establishing peace and a good understanding on the most durable foundations." The governor-general declares his expectation of "a speedy answer to this letter, with an earnest hope that it may correspond with the pacific views and wishes of the company."

No answer arriving from the sultaun for more than a month, lord Mornington addressed to him (December 10), being then on the eve of his departure for Madras, a second letter, in which, in concise terms, he again urges the propriety and necessity of taking the contents of his former one into his earliest and most serious consideration. On the 15th of December a dispatch from the sultaun reached Calcutta, filled with the most treacherous professions of attachment, and complaints of the military preparations reported to be made by the English: and, after

another long interval; an answer (dated December 18) to the two letters of November was received, in which this faithless prince congratulates the governor-general on the glorious victory of Aboukir; and expresses his firm hope, "that the English, who ever adhere to the paths of sincerity, friendship, and good faith, and are the well-wishers of mankind, will at all times be successful and victorious; and that the French, who are of a crooked disposition, faithless, and the enemies of mankind, may be ever depressed and ruined." He positively denies that any secret correspondence was or ever had been carried on between him and the French; and says, that "the French, who are full of vice and deceit, have perhaps put about reports with a view to ruffle the minds of both sirkars." He expresses his surprise at the military preparations avowedly made by the governor-general, but declines to receive major Doveton, declaring "that no means more effectual than the engagements already entered into, can be adopted for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony." This letter was received by lord Mornington at Madras, whence his lordship returned an immediate reply (January 9, 1799) to the sultaun, informing him in very full and explicit terms of the accurate advices which he had received of his most secret transactions with

BOOK  
XXXII.

1799.

Systematic  
dissimula-  
tion of the  
sultaun.

BOOK the French, and of his flagrant violations of the  
XXXII. subsisting treaties. "Even under all these cir-  
1799. cumstances of provocation," says his lordship,  
with laudable moderation, "we are ready to  
renew and confirm the bonds of amity on such  
conditions as shall preclude the continuance of  
those jealousies which must subsist so long as a  
final and satisfactory adjustment of all the causes  
of suspicion shall be delayed." He again calls  
upon the sultaun, in the most serious and solemn  
manner, to assent to the immediate admission of  
major Doveton, as a measure which he is confi-  
dent would be productive of the most lasting  
advantages to all parties—"Dangerous conse-  
quences," says his lordship, "result from the  
delay of arduous affairs." With this letter the  
governor-general enclosed a copy of the mani-  
festo issued by the Ottoman Porte against the  
French; and in his subsequent dispatch of Jan.  
16, he transmitted to the sultaun a letter ad-  
dressed to that monarch by the grand seignor,  
sultaun Selim, delivered, as the governor-general  
informs the king of Mysore, by order of his  
sublime highness, to the British minister resident  
at Constantinople, by whom it was forwarded to  
the presidency of Bombay, and thence to lord  
Clive, governor of Madras. This letter, dated  
September 20, and written doubtless at the insti-  
gation, if not by the pen, of the British resident,

was filled with violent and common-place decla- B O O K  
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1799.  
mation against the French; although well calcu-  
lated to impress the mind of the sultaun of My-  
sore, had it not been callous to *all* impression,  
of the extreme danger which he incurred by per-  
severing in his present system of policy. The  
Turkish emperor concludes his epistle in the fol-  
lowing words:—"We make it our especial request,  
that your majesty will please to refrain from  
entering into any measures against the English;  
or lending any compliant ear to the French.  
Should there exist any subject of complaint with  
the former, please to communicate it, certain as  
you may be of the employment of every good  
office on our side to compromise the same. We  
wish to see the connexion above alluded to ex-  
changed in favor of Great Britain. We con-  
fidently expect, that, upon consideration of all  
that is stated in this communication, and of the  
necessity of assisting your brethren Mussulmans  
in this general cause of religion, as well as of  
co-operating towards the above precious pro-  
vince (*i. e.* Egypt) being delivered from the  
hands of the enemy, your majesty will employ  
every means which your natural zeal will point  
out, to assist the common cause; and to corro-  
borate, by that means, the ancient good under-  
standing so happily existing between our em-  
pires."

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After waiting with exemplary patience twenty-five days for an answer to the important dispatch of Jan. the 9th, the governor-general at length, on the 3d of February, ordered the army to begin its march towards the Mysorean territory. The reply of Tippoo Sultaun was received at Madras the 13th of February. It contained the usual professions of attachment, and acknowledged, with great ostentation of reverence, the receipt of the letter addressed to him by the grand seignor, whom he styles "the luminary giving splendor to the firmament of glory and power." He now also declared himself (though in cold and distant terms) willing to admit of major Doveton's embassy, but desires "that he may come unattended."

Soon after this, the sultaun being, as it should seem, determined to carry to the utmost height and to prolong to the very last moment his characteristic dissimulation, enclosed to the governor-general a pretended answer, bearing date 10th Ramzan (16th of February, 1799,) to the letter received by him from the grand seignor, desiring that it might be forwarded to Constantinople. This answer, addressed to "The EXALTED PRESENCE, the BRIGHT PLANET of the EMPYREUM of GLORY, the BLOOM of the BOWER of GREATNESS," &c. &c. was couched in concise and general terms, denying any misunderstanding between himself and

the English, and declaring, "that, as the French nation are estranged from and are become the opponents of the SUBLIME PORTE, they had rendered themselves the enemies of all the followers of the faith." At the same time this perfidious monarch transmitted to Constantinople, by a more speedy and direct conveyance, the true answer; which was no other than a most virulent and furious invective against ALL the EUROPEANS in India, and comprising a summary of their transactions in Hindostan, from their first settlement on that continent, to the present time, heightened occasionally by the most false and needless exaggerations. He expresses his hope "that the religion of Islaum will obtain exclusive prevalence over the whole country of Hindostan; and that ALL the sinful heretics will, with the utmost ease, become the prey of the swords of the combatants in the cause of religion."—"Be it known to those," says the sovereign of Mysore, "who stand at the foot of the imperial throne, that the treachery, deceit, and supremacy of the Christians in the regions of Hindostan, are beyond the power of expression." After finishing his historic elucidations, he goes on to say, "that the English, having adopted a determined resolution to subdue the whole of Hindostan, and to subvert the Mussulman religion; and having united to themselves nizam

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1799.

The sultaun attempts to excite the Ottoman Porte against the English.

**BOOK**  
**XXXII.** Ali Khan, and the infidels of Poonah; have for  
**1799.** five years past been devising the means: accord-  
ingly, they have lately written in plain and un-  
disguised terms *that it is their intention to de-  
stroy the religion of Islaum—‘ Evil designs re-  
turn upon the heads of the inventors.’* The in-  
fidels of Poonah, in consequence of the disagree-  
ments prevailing among the ministers at Dehli,  
have subverted that country, and, having de-  
stroyed its houses, have erected their own tem-  
ples upon its ruins. They have possessed them-  
selves entirely of that kingdom, whilst a poor  
sightless individual of the royal house of Timur,  
whose servants put out his eyes, is seated in his  
palace in a state the most abject; the resources  
of his maintenance are fixed from the sale of the  
fruits of his gardens. The respected and accom-  
plished syuds, syud Ali Mohummud, and syud  
Modauroo-deen, are now nominated and deputed  
with this friendly letter, to represent various  
points of great importance, and to communicate  
the sentiments of my mind; and with instruc-  
tions to remain in attendance on your majesty dur-  
ing three years—I trust that they will be honored  
by admission to your highness’s presence. May  
the victorious banners of Islaum be ever preva-  
lent, and every trace of heresy and infidels be  
wiped away !”

About the same period, the sultaun of Mysore

wrote once more to the king of Candahar, expressing "the boundless satisfaction which he had received from the determination of that powerful sovereign to prosecute a holy war against the infidels, and destroy the profanation of polytheism by the exertions of the relentless sword. At this time," says he, "the English, having received intimation of the arrival of the ambassadors of the sirkar at your highness's court, and of the firm connexion established between the two states, have taken umbrage, and, in concert with the infidels and the turbulent, have taken up arms against me; *and they have written, that they entertain the design to subvert the religion of Islaum* :—' Many are the words that proceed from their lips, but their words are nought but lies.' If it please GOD, they shall become food for the unrelenting swords of the pious warriors\*."

\* The assertion in each of the above letters, "that the English have written in express terms that they entertain the design of subverting the religion of Islaum," appears at first sight to be a direct falsity; but, according to the testimony of Hubbeeb Oollah, head moonshee to the sultaun, it was merely an inference (a most preposterous and malicious one indeed) from that expression in lord Mornington's dispatch of November the 8th, in which the governor-general declares "that the alliance of France threatens, in its consequences, to destroy the religion which he (Tippoo) revered"---the sultaun no doubt supposing that the friendship of France did not threaten worse consequences than the enmity of England.

BOOK XXXII. On the 22d of February, the governor-general published a declaration, very ably recapitulating the reasons which compelled him to engage in hostilities with the sultaun of Mysore. It states, "that the governor-general waited with the utmost solicitude for an answer to the reasonable and distinct proposition contained in his letter of the 9th of January; that the sultaun, however, remained silent, although apprised that dangerous consequences would result from delay. In the mean while, the season for military operations had already advanced to so late a period, as to render a speedy decision indispensable to the security of the allies. It must be evident to all the states of India, that the answer of the sultaun has been deferred to this late period of the season with no other view than to preclude the allies from the benefit of those advantages which their combined military operations would enable them to secure. The allies are therefore resolved to place their army in such a position as shall afford adequate protection against any artifice or insincerity, and shall preclude the return of that danger which has so lately menaced their possessions. Retaining, however, an anxious desire to effect an adjustment with Tippoo Sultaun, lieutenant-general Harris, commander-in-chief of his majesty's and the honorable company's forces on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar,

The governor-general declares war against the sultaun of Mysore:

is authorised to receive any embassy which Tippoo <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~XXXII.~~ Sultaun may dispatch to the head-quarters of the ~~XXXII.~~ British army, and to concert a treaty on such <sup>1799.</sup> conditions as appear to the allies to be indispensably necessary for the establishment of a secure and permanent peace."

A very fine and well-appointed army was now, through the indefatigable exertions of the governor-general, seconded by the efforts of the civil and military departments, not only formed, but put in motion. This army was commanded by officers of great courage, skill, and experience; and being in a short time joined by the troops of the nizam, they marched forward in full confidence of success. But while general Harris approached, the eastern frontier of Mysore, the sultaun had himself commenced hostilities on the western side, by the attack (March 6) of general Stuart, who commanded the Bombay army, while yet in the territory of the peshwa, and encamped on the high mountain of Sedaseer. Upon this occasion the sultaun received a severe repulse, and on being informed that general Harris, with the grand army, had entered Mysore, he forthwith returned to the defence of his own country.

By this time the allies had penetrated as far as Bangalore. On the 23d, as the British commander approached Sultaun-pettah, a cloud of

BOOK ~~XXXII.~~ dust to the westward announced the vicinity of  
the Mysorean army; retiring, as the allies  
marched forward, the enemy attained on the  
<sup>1799.</sup> 27th the heights of Malavelly, from which they  
were on the same day driven with considerable  
loss. On the 3d of April, the army came within  
sight of the lofty towers of Seringapatam, having  
hitherto experienced, to the general surprise, a  
resistance altogether trivial. By reports from the  
sultaun's camp, it was understood that he was  
extremely dejected and undetermined; and that  
his plans of defence had been as suddenly aban-  
doned, as they were hastily formed. On the 5th,  
<sup>Investment of Seringapatam.</sup> the British army encamped at the distance of  
3500 yards from the western fort of the city,  
which was soon after completely invested. Till  
this period the sultaun had shown no disposition  
to submit to terms; still, in all probability, che-  
rishing the delusive hope that powerful succours  
from France would arrive in time to rescue him  
from this humiliation. General Bonaparte had,  
in the month of January, attempted to transmit  
a letter to the sultaun, through the intervention  
of the cherif of Mecca, from Cairo: "You have,"  
said the general, "already been informed of my  
arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an  
innumerable and invincible army, full of the de-  
sire of delivering you from the iron yoke of En-  
gland. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of

testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mecca, as to your political situation: I would even wish you could send some intelligent person to Suez or to Cairo, possessing your confidence, with whom I may confer.—May the Almighty increase your power, and destroy your enemies!"

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Whether this letter or any duplicate of it ever reached the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, is not perfectly clear; but it was impossible that the monarch of Mysore could be ignorant that a great army of the French, ultimately destined for the conquest of the English possessions in the east, had established themselves in Egypt; and his policy was, to practise every species of evasion and procrastination until their arrival in India: but his hatred and passion did not permit him to dissemble well, and his artifices were much too gross to deceive the vigilance and penetration of the chief-governor. On the 9th of April, being now apparently alarmed at his situation, he had the effrontery to write in the following terms to the commander, general Harris:—"The governor-general, lord Mornington, sent me a letter, the copy of which is enclosed—you will understand it. I have adhered firmly to treaties: what, then, is the meaning of the advance of the English army, and the occurrence of hostilities? Inform me." In reply, the sultaun was properly referred

BOOK to the previous letters of lord Mornington, and  
the declaration of war on the part of the allies.

1799.

The sultaun sues  
in vain for  
peace.

On the 14th of April, the Bombay army under general Stuart crossed the Cavery, and took a strong position on its northern bank. That river, which separated the camp from the fort of Seringapatam, was at this time almost dry, and its bed a naked rock. The armies of the allies having now formed a complete junction, and the enemy's advanced works beyond the river being taken, the sultaun made another attempt to arrest the progress of the siege by negotiation; and wrote a second letter to general Harris, desiring him to nominate commissioners, and open a conference for peace. In answer to this overture, were sent the preliminary articles of the only peace that would now be granted him. These were, to cede half his territories in perpetuity to the allies; to pay two crores of rupees by way of indemnification for the expenses of the war; to renounce all connexion with France; to receive ambassadors from the allies; and give hostages for the performance of these stipulations. Such were the severe terms which the perverse obstinacy of the sultaun had now made it necessary for him to accept, or by the refusal to risk his life and crown. For some days he maintained a sullen silence; but a vigorous sally of the garrison on general Stuart being repulsed, and the guns of

two towers on the western side dismounted, the <sup>BOOK</sup>  
unfortunate sultaun, on the 28th, made another <sup>XXXII.</sup>  
and last effort to retard the operations of the <sup>1799.</sup>  
siege, by declaring, in reply to the notification of  
general Harris, "that he wished to send ambas-  
sadors to open a conference for peace.—The  
points in question," said he, "are mighty, and  
cannot be brought to a conclusion without the  
intervention of ambassadors. I am, therefore,  
about to send two gentlemen who will personally  
explain themselves to you."

He was immediately informed, that no ambas-  
sadors would be now received, unless he sent a  
part, at least, of the specie demanded, and the  
hostages required for his sincerity. The sultaun,  
reduced to despair by this answer, seemed de-  
termined to bury himself under the ruins of his  
capital; and, as if to shut every avenue to future  
negotiation, he barbarously ordered the prisoners  
he had taken to be put to death\*. The fire of  
the batteries, which began to batter in breach on  
the 30th of April, had on the evening of the 3d of  
May so much shattered the walls, that a general  
assault was deemed practicable. The troops were  
accordingly (early in the morning of the 4th)  
stationed in the trenches, that no extraordinary  
movement might occasion alarm; and in order to

\* Wood's Review, p. 24.—This extraordinary circumstance  
is not mentioned in general Harris's public dispatches.

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~~XXXII.~~  
1799. ~~Seringapatam taken by storm.~~ take the enemy by surprise, it was determined to make the attempt in the heat of the day—the season of indolence and repose. At one o'clock the troops under general Baird moved from the trenches, and, crossing the rocky bed of the Cavery, under a heavy fire from the stupendous works which defended this great and magnificent capital, passed the glacis and the fossé; then ascended the breaches with the most heroic gallantry, surmounting every obstacle which the valor of the enemy could oppose to their progress. In a short time all was confusion and consternation, and the British colors were displayed on the summit of the breach. Resistance continued, however, to be made from the palace of Tippoo for some time after all firing had ceased from the works: two of his sons were there, who, on assurance of safety, at length surrendered. It was at the same time reported that Tippoo Sultaun was slain. The most active measures were immediately adopted to put an end to the horrors of the assault, and diligent search was made for the body of the sultaun, which was with difficulty found, encompassed and almost covered with heaps of dead: it was conveyed to the palace, and being recognised by the family, was the next day interred, with the honors due to his rank, in the mausoleum of his father.

Thus, after a short but brilliant career, fell the

house or dynasty of the celebrated Hyder Ali <sup>BOOK  
XXXII.</sup>  
Khan, of whose great and acknowledged talents,  
civil or military, his son and successor seemed to  
inherit but a slender portion. On the ensuing  
day, Kerim Saheb, the brother of the late sultaun;  
Abdul Khalic, the elder of the princes  
formerly hostages with lord Cornwallis; and in a  
short time the remainder of the family of Tippoo,  
surrendered themselves, and demanded protec-  
tion. The dominions of the sultaun were dis-  
posed of in conformity to an arrangement soon  
after concluded upon by the conquerors. To the  
company were allotted the province of Canara,  
the districts of Coimbatore and Daraporam, with  
an extensive district extending along the Mala-  
bar coast, including Mangalore; also the fortress,  
city, and island of Seringapatam;—to the nizam  
was assigned a large tract of country contiguous  
to his own dominions;—and to the Mahrattas,  
who had taken no active part in the war, were, by  
a liberal policy, given Soonda, Harponelly, and  
a portion of Bidenore—the fortresses belonging  
to the latter were, however, retained in the hands  
of the English, and a strong barrier opposed to  
the future incursions of that powerful and warlike  
people, extending from the eastern to the western  
Ghauts.

Partition  
of the sultaun's do-  
minions.

On a careful investigation it was found, that  
the surviving representative of the ancient royal

BOOK Hindoo family of Mysore, expelled by the high  
XXXII. fortune of Hyder Ali from the throne, was a boy  
1799. of five years of age. To him it was deemed both  
<sup>Ancient royal house of Mysore restored.</sup> just and politic to restore the kingdom of Mysore, which was by the late partition comprised nearly within the same limits by which it was bounded previous to the usurpation of Hyder; and by an article of the treaty of Mysore, the dependency of that kingdom upon the British government was formally recognised, and the right of British interference distinctly acknowledged. Thus the interests of the infant rajah were said to be identified with those of Great Britain; and at all events such interference were better exercised openly and avowedly, than in the way of clandestine and unauthorised coercion. The family of Tippoo Sultaun were in a short time removed to Vellore, in the Carnatic, and an annual revenue amounting to about 600,000 rupees was allowed for their future maintenance.

The governor-general, in his public congratulations to the commander-in-chief and to the allied army on these memorable events, declares "that they have surpassed the most sanguine expectations that were previously formed, and have raised the reputation of the British arms in India to a degree of splendor and glory unrivalled in the military history of this quarter of the globe;" and he adds, with great appearance of reason, "that the

lustre of this victory can be equalled only by the substantial advantages which it promises to establish, by restoring the peace and safety of the British possessions in India on a durable condition of genuine security." How far the general system of British government in India is consistent with the principles of universal justice, or even of national policy, are questions foreign to the purpose of the present narration ; but it must unquestionably be allowed, that upon those principles of policy, and even of safety, on which it was the duty of the governor-general to act, great merit is to be ascribed to him for the temper and moderation which he displayed in the earlier stages of this arduous business ; and for his subsequent firmness and decision, when it clearly appeared that the former qualities were no longer in any degree available.

In the month of November (A. D. 1799) died the celebrated Kien Long, upwards of sixty-four years emperor of China, aged eighty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, Ka Hing, who had for some time past administered the government of the country. The virtues and talents of the late emperor had endeared him to all his subjects, who expressed extreme regret for his loss. The person of this great eastern monarch is described as graceful and majestic, and his deportment as equally dignified and affable : his countenance

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1799.

Death of  
Kien Long,  
emperor of  
China.

~~BOOK~~  
~~XXXII.~~ was regular and pleasing; and his general appearance by no means indicated the extreme age to  
1799: which he had attained. He is represented in the Narrative of the late Embassy to the Court of Pekin in picturesque colors, as usually wearing a robe of yellow silk, girded with a blue sash; a cap or turban of black velvet, with a red tassel and plume of peacocks' feathers; and boots embroidered with gold—a costume truly oriental, and which may justly vie with the stars, garters, and coronets of European vanity. His grandfather, Kang-hi, whom he succeeded in 1735, had filled the throne of China during the long period of sixty-two years.

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BOOK XXXIII.

*SESSION of Parliament 1799-1800. Bill for the further Reduction of the Militia—Unavailing Opposition to it in both Houses. Overture of the First Consul for Peace—Scornfully rejected by the English Government. Correspondence between M. Talleyrand and Lord Grenville laid before Parliament—Memorable Debate on the same. The Administration becomes unpopular. Motion of Mr. Sheridan relative to the Failure of the Expedition to Holland negatived. Enormous Supplies voted. Subsidy to the Emperor. Habeas-Corpus Act again suspended. Statement of the Affairs of India. Project of Union revived. Meeting of the Irish Parliament, January 1800. Eloquent Speech of Mr. Grattan. Message from the Lord-Lieutenant recommednatory of the Measure of a Union—Violent Debates on the Subject. Able Speech of the Lord-Chancellor. Resolutions of the Parliament of Great Britain successively adopted. Address to the King from the Parliament of Ireland, signifying their Assent to the Resolutions. Message from the King to the British Parliament, communicating the Contents of the Address—Proceedings and Debates of the two Houses thereupon. Act of Union finally passed. Act of Union ratified by the Irish Parliament. Military Operations on the Continent. Change of System at the Court of St. Petersburg. First Consul takes the Field in Person. Successes of General Moreau in Germany. General Massena takes the Command in Italy—Besieged in Genoa by General Melas. Passage of the First Consul across the Great St. Bernard. His rapid and successive Triumphs—Takes Possession of Milan. Heroic Defence of Gene-*

*ral Massena. Evacuation of Genoa by the French. Decisive Battle of MARENGO. Death of General Desaix. Armistice concluded between the French and the Austrians. Re-establishment of the Cisalpine Republic. Arrival of the First Consul at Paris—Distinguished Honors paid to him. Further Successes of General Moreau in Germany. Armistice of Italy extended to Germany. Preliminary Articles of Peace signed at Paris between France and Austria—The Emperor refuses his Ratification.*

**BOOK**  
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**XXXIII.** **T**HE session of parliament opened so early as  
1799.  
Session of parliament  
1799-1800. the 24th of September (1799). His majesty declared to the two houses “that he had called them together at that unusual season in order to recommend to them to consider of the propriety of enabling him, without delay, to avail himself to a further extent of the voluntary services of the militia at a moment when an increase of our active force abroad may be productive of the most important and beneficial consequences.—In the short interval,” said his majesty, “since the close of the last session, our situation and prospects have, under the blessing of Providence, improved beyond the most sanguine expectation. The abilities and valor of the commanders and troops of the combined imperial armies have continued to be eminently displayed. The deliverance of Italy may now be considered as secured by the result of a campaign equal in splendor and success to any recorded in history.—The French expedition to Egypt has continued

to be productive of calamity and disgrace to our enemies, while its ultimate views against our eastern possessions have been utterly confounded. The *desperate attempt* which they have lately made to extricate themselves from their difficulties, has been defeated by the courage of the Turkish forces, directed by the skill, and animated by the heroism, of a British officer, with a small portion of my naval force under his command; and the overthrow of that restless and perfidious power, who, instigated by the artifices and deluded by the promises of the French, had entered into their ambitious and destructive projects in India, has placed the British interests, in that quarter of the globe, in a state of solid and permanent security.—There is, I trust, every reason to expect that the effort which I am making for the deliverance of the United Provinces will prove successful. The British arms have rescued from the possession of the enemy the principal port and naval arsenal of the Dutch republic; and although we have to regret the loss of many brave men in a subsequent attack against the enemy, whose position enabled them to obstruct our progress, I have the strongest ground to expect that the skill of my generals and the determined resolution and intrepidity of my troops, and those of my allies, will soon surmount every obstacle;

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BOOK XXXIII. and that the fleet which, under the usurped dominion of France, was destined to co-operate in 1799. the invasion of these islands, may speedily, I trust, under its ancient standard, partake in the glory of restoring the religion, liberty, and independence of those provinces, so long in intimate union and alliance with this country. While you rejoice with me in the events which add so much lustre to the British character, you will, I am persuaded, as cordially join in the sentiments so justly due to the conduct of my good and faithful ally the emperor of Russia. To his *magnanimity and wisdom*, directing to so many quarters of Europe the force of his extensive and powerful empire, we are, in a great measure, indebted for the success of our own efforts, as well as for the rapid and favorable change in the general situation of affairs." His majesty concluded this remarkable speech with informing the two houses that he had communicated to the parliament of Ireland, at the close of their last session, the sentiments expressed to him by the British legislature respecting an incorporating union with that kingdom. "The experience of every day," said the monarch, "confirms me in the persuasion that signal benefit would be derived to both countries from that important measure: and I trust that the disposition of my parliament there will be found to

correspond with that which you have manifested for the accomplishment of a work which would tend so much to add to the security and happiness of all my Irish subjects, and to consolidate the strength and prosperity of the empire."

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In the house of lords the address was moved by the marquis of Buckingham. Adverting to that part of the royal speech which related to the militia, his lordship acknowledged "that nothing less than the necessity of *this extraordinary war* could warrant the least departure from the original system. When he contemplated the events of the present year, and the success which had attended our arms in almost every quarter of the globe, he could not help considering these advantages as being far short of those which Providence had yet in store for us." The marquis then expatiated on the impiety, cruelty, and injustice, of the French nation; together with the fate which had attended every action undertaken on such principles.

"The man who was *called* the conqueror and the hero, was defeated and frustrated in all his attempts, from the battle of Aboukir to the siege of Acre. After sitting down before an inconsiderable and ill-fortified town, which he regularly besieged, he was seen to retreat, loaded with disgrace, and completely defeated, by a

BOOK ~~XXXIII.~~ handful of British sailors, who on that occasion were converted into soldiers, and by the few Turks whom the presence of our small naval force, and the exertions of its gallant commander, inspired with courage which they would otherwise never have displayed." His lordship then exulted over the fate of Tippoo Saheb, "whose pride had been humbled to the dust, and whose capital had been taken by our army." The astonishing efforts of the emperor of Russia came next under his consideration. "It was to the energy, and, above all, to the fidelity, of that illustrious prince, that Europe might be regarded as chiefly indebted for her deliverance." The address was seconded by lord Amherst, and carried without a division.

A similar address, echoing in the usual mode the sentiments of the speech, passed the lower house with the same facility.

The measure of engrafting a still larger proportion of the militia into the regular army being regarded as of extreme importance, Mr. Plumer, member for Herts, a man of great public and private respectability, moved a call of the house; but this was opposed and over-ruled by Mr. Pitt, although the number of members actually assembled did not amount to two hundred.

On the 26th of September Mr. secretary

Dundas moved to bring in a bill for the reduction of the militia, and to enable his majesty to accept the services of an additional number of volunteers. He did not wish to conceal that this motion had in view the employment of a greater force on the continent. The supplementary militia was brought forward when the country was threatened with invasion; but for some time past the necessity of a large establishment for home defence had been gradually wearing away.

Mr. Tierney said "that he did not object to the measure in present circumstances as a bad one, so much as to the application of it. He thought there was sufficient reason to conclude that the Dutch had no inclination to co-operate with our efforts. Though our army had been a month in the country, few joined our cause; and an obstinate resistance had been opposed to our progress. After a succession of severe encounters, we merely occupied the positions held at the commencement of our enterprise. Holland had now no fleet: nothing remained to the Dutch but their swamps and their canals; an attempt to recover which, from their present possessors, would only tend to make that country the grave of Englishmen."

Mr. Sheridan affirmed that the expedition against Holland could not succeed, and ought

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Bill for the  
further re-  
duction of  
the militia.

BOOK not to have been attempted without a full as-  
XXXIII. surance of the co-operation of the Dutch na-  
1799. tion, which there appeared no reason to ex-  
pect. He hoped, therefore, that ministers  
would not persevere in the fruitless attempt to  
conquer Holland by force; or, at least, that the  
house would not support administration in such  
destructive obstinacy.

Mr. Pitt, in his accustomed loftiness of lan-  
guage, assured the house "that the expedition  
to Holland was undertaken under such auspices  
as would justify the most sanguine hope of suc-  
cess. We can draw," said the minister, "*from*  
*HUMAN NATURE itself*, the most solid assurance  
of favor and support to our cause. We know  
that there can be no country which has ever  
tasted French oppression, which has ever been  
linked in French fraternity, that does not long  
to shake off the galling yoke. Unless the  
Dutch have lost, not only their national charac-  
ter, but the features of *HUMAN NATURE itself*, we  
must find allies in their hearts, their affections,  
their hopes, and their prayers. If, contrary to  
all he believed, the attempt to rescue Holland  
from the tyranny of France should miscarry,  
government would still have cause, not merely  
of consolation, but triumph, in the acquisition  
of an object fully adequate to justify the design  
and compensate for the sacrifices. If we could

not secure a friend, at least we had succeeded in disarming an adversary."

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Mr. Windham, in that high tone of arrogant fatuity which distinguished the faction of the Burkites, considered "the invasion and conquest of Holland as only the means towards accomplishing the great end in view. Could we," he asked, "be safe, while such a republic as that established in France continued to exist? He would state fairly, that both the reduction of France, and the total overthrow of the French government, was his object and the object of those with whom he acted."

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On the 4th of October, the bill having been transmitted to the peers, earl Fitzwilliam rose in opposition to the principle of it; which his lordship affirmed to be not only unjust in its nature, but calculated to introduce into the militia a degree of insubordination of the most perilous tendency. When it was brought into parliament last year, he had foreseen that what was then grounded upon a particular emergency would be resorted to on every occasion as a general principle. The same reasons which induced him to oppose it at that time, were strengthened by this proposed extension. The plan was a breach of the engagement which subsisted with men who were raised for a peculiar purpose under a peculiar system. By

Unavailing opposition, in both houses, to the bill for the further reduction of the militia.

BOOK XXXIII. changing the nature of their service, government acted in a manner which they had not anticipated.

Lord Holland observed, that the practice which had been introduced of sacrificing the militia to the regular army, tended to destroy that constitutional system of defence; and he suspected that from the beginning it had been in the contemplation of ministers to render the militia subservient to the recruiting of the army—a measure calculated to disgust the officers in that service, the nature of which was different from that of a regular army: the views and the qualifications were different;—and his lordship concluded with expressing his disapprobation of the bill, both with respect to the object and the means. The avowed object of administration was the restoration of the stadholder's power; but this it would be extreme folly and injustice to attempt, unless the people of Holland themselves co-operated with our efforts, of which he saw no probability.

The earl of Carnaryon forcibly declared that this perversion of the militia, once carried into execution, irrecoverably destroyed it: the legislature could not, with all its omnipotence, restore it; the same confidence could never be revived. Unprofessional gentlemen could not be expected to labor in the formation of regi-

ments which they were not to command in the ~~hour of danger.~~<sup>BOOK</sup> They must remember that ~~their~~<sup>XXXIII.</sup> ~~zeal and labor had been rewarded by the~~<sup>1799.</sup> transfer of its object to another; and that those who directed military arrangements held the constitutional system of the militia in aversion, and sought every opportunity of depressing its ardor and reducing it to a standing army.

The lords Grenville and Westmoreland defended the provisions of the bill throughout, as perfectly constitutional; but the earl of Hardwicke, who spoke on the same side, admitted, with fairness and moderation, that the bill was liable to much objection, and contained many things grievous and painful to militia officers; but the propriety of enlarging the offensive force of the country induced him to give it support, much as he deplored the necessity. This appeared, on the subsequent division, to be the almost unanimous sense of the house; and, after voting the supplies required for two months only, both houses of parliament adjourned to the 21st of January, 1800.

The close of the old and the commencement of the new year were distinguished by a transaction most momentous in its nature and consequences. About the end of December lord Grenville received a letter from M. Talleyrand, secretary for foreign affairs in France,

Overture  
of the first  
consul for  
peace.—

~~BOOK XXXIII.~~ dated 5th Nivose, 8th year, signifying that  
 he had, by order of his government, dispatched  
 1799. a messenger with a letter from the first consul  
 to his majesty the king of England. Of this cele-  
 brated epistle, the following is an accurate  
 transcript:—

“ FRENCH REPUBLIC—SOVEREIGNTY OF THE  
 PEOPLE—LIBERTY—EQUALITY.

“ BONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL *of the REPUBLIC, to his  
 MAJESTY the KING of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.*

“ Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year (December 25, 1799).

“ CALLED by the wishes of the French nation to occupy  
 the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on en-  
 tering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your  
 majesty.

“ The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quar-  
 ters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of  
 coming to an understanding?

“ How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe,  
 powerful and strong beyond what their safety and indepen-  
 dence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits  
 of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of fami-  
 lies? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first  
 necessity as well as of the first glory?

“ These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your  
 majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view  
 of rendering it happy.

“ Your majesty will only see in this overture my sincere  
 desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a ge-  
 neral pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence,  
 and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to

disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only in those which are strong the mutual desire of deceiving each other.

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“ France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, to the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

“ Of your majesty,

“ BONAPARTE.”

In a few days lord Grenville informed M. 1800.  
Talleyrand “ that he had laid before the king — Scorn-  
the two letters transmitted to him ; and that his fully re-  
majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those jected by  
forms which have long been established in Eu- the English  
rope for transacting business with foreign states, government.  
had commanded him to return, in his name, the official answer enclosed.

“ OFFICIAL NOTE from LORD GRENVILLE to the MINISTER for FOREIGN AFFAIRS at PARIS.

“ London, January 4, 1800.

“ THE king has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression the rights and happiness of his subjects.

“ For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack ; and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend ; nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering at the present moment into negotiation with those whom

BOOK a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France ; since no real advantage can arise from such

XXXIII. 1800. negotiation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has since been protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed.

" The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilised nations.

" For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss cantons, his majesty's ancient friends and allies, have successively been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged ; Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burdensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdoms.

" Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone. They have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote both in situation and interest from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors.

" While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shown that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availng. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh

aggression ; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of stability, for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion.

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" For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe ; and whom the present rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace.

" Greatly, indeed, will his majesty rejoice whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, have been so long exposed, has really ceased ; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is at an end ; that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France ; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction, which have endangered the very existence of civil society, have at length been finally relinquished. But the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his majesty's wishes, can result only from experience and the evidence of facts.

" The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence, would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad. Such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory, and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means.

" But, desirable as such an event must be both to France and

BOOK XXXIII. to the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification.

1800. His majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

“ His majesty looks only to the security of his own dominions and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that country from whose internal situation the danger has arisen—or from such other circumstances, of whatever nature, as may produce the same end—his majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

“ Unhappily no such security hitherto exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In this situation it can, for the present, only remain for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

“ GRENVILLE.”

In as short a time as the distance and other circumstances would admit, lord Grenville received a note from M. Talleyrand, inclosing, by command of the first consul, an answer to his last communication, “equally official,” as follows:—

" M. TALLEYRAND to LORD GRENVILLE.

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" Paris, 24th Nivose, 8th year (Jan. 14, 1800).

" THE official note, under date of the 14th Nivose, the 8th year, addressed by the minister of his Britannic majesty, having been laid before the first consul of the French republic, he observed with surprise that it rested upon an opinion which is not exact, respecting the origin and consequences of the present war. Very far from its being France which provoked it, she had, it must be remembered, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace and her disinclination to conquests, her respect for the independence of all governments ; and it is not to be doubted, that, occupied at that time with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations.

" But, from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real long time before it was public. Internal resistance was excited : its opponents were favorably received ; their extravagant declamations were supported ; the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents ; and England set particularly this example by the dismissal of the minister accredited to her. Finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honor, and in her safety, long time before war was declared.

" Thus it is to the projects of subjection, dissolution, and dismemberment, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time without example with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences.

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" Assailed on all sides, the republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence; and it is only for the maintenance of her independence that she has made use of those means which she possessed in her own strength and the courage of her citizens. As long as she saw her enemies obstinately refused to recognise her rights, she counted only upon the energy of her resistance; but as soon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invasion, she sought for means of reconciliation, and manifested pacific intentions; and if these have not always been efficacious—if, in the midst of the critical circumstances of her internal situation which the revolution and the war have successively brought on, the former depositaries of the executive authority in France have not always shown as much moderation as the nation itself has shown courage—it must, above all, be imputed to the fatal and persevering animosity with which the resources of England have been lavished to accomplish the ruin of France.

" But if the wishes of his Britannic majesty, in conformity with his assurances, are in unison with those of the French republic for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it? And what obstacle can prevent a mutual understanding, of which the utility is reciprocal and is felt; especially when the first consul of the French republic has personally given so many proofs of his eagerness to put an end to the calamities of war, and of his disposition to maintain the rigid observance of all the treaties concluded?

" The first consul of the French republic could not doubt that his Britannic majesty recognised the right of nations to choose the form of their government, *since it is from the EXERCISE of this RIGHT that he holds his CROWN.* But he has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the ministers of his majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an

interference in the internal affairs of the republic ; and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England and to his majesty if a sort of invitation were held out in favor of that republican government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century ; or an exhortation to recal to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution compelled to descend from it.

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"If, at periods not far distant, when the constitutional system of the republic presented neither the strength nor the solidity which it contains at present, his Britannic majesty thought himself enabled to invite a negotiation and pacific conferences, how is it possible that he should not be eager now to renew negotiations to which the present and reciprocal situation of affairs promises a rapid progress ? On every side the voice of nations and of humanity implores the conclusion of a war marked already by such great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with an universal convulsion and irremediable evils. It is, therefore, to put a stop to the course of these calamities, or in order that their terrible consequences may be reproached to those only who shall have provoked them, that the first consul of the French republic proposes to put an immediate end to hostilities by agreeing to a suspension of arms, and naming plenipotentiaries on each side, who shall repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageously situated for the quickness of the respective communications ; and who should apply themselves, without any delay, to effect the re-establishment of peace and good understanding between the French republic and England.—The first consul offers to give the passports which may be necessary for this purpose.

" C. M. TALLEYRAND."

To this note the following official answer was returned :—

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"LORD GRENVILLE to M. TALLEYRAND.

"Downing-street, January 20, 1800.

"THE official note transmitted by the minister for foreign affairs in France, and received by the undersigned on the 18th instant, has been laid before the king.

"His majesty cannot forbear expressing the concern with which he observes in that note, that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, are systematically defended by her present rulers under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised. His majesty will not enter into the refutation of allegations now universally exploded; and—in so far as they respect his majesty's conduct—not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they relate, and also by the express testimony, given at that time, of the government of France itself.

"With respect to the object of the note, his majesty can only refer to the answer which he has already given.

"He has explained without reserve the obstacles which, in his judgement, preclude, at the present moment, all hope of advantage from negotiation. All the inducements to treat which are relied upon in the French official note; the personal dispositions which are said to prevail for the conclusion of peace, and for the future observance of treaties; the power of insuring the effect of those dispositions, supposing them to exist; and the solidity of the system newly established after so rapid a succession of revolutions—all these are points which can be known only from that test to which his majesty has already referred them, the result of EXPERIENCE and the EVIDENCE OF FACTS.

"With that sincerity and plainness his anxiety for the re-establishment of peace indispensably required, his majesty has pointed out to France the surest and speediest means for the

attainment of that great object. But he has declared, in terms equally explicit, and with the same sincerity, that he entertains no desire to prescribe to a foreign nation the form of its government; that he looks only to the security of his own dominions and of Europe; and that, whenever that essential object can, in his judgement, be in any manner whatever sufficiently provided for, he will eagerly concert with his allies the means of immediate and joint negotiation for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

“ To these declarations his majesty steadily adheres; and it is only on the grounds thus stated that his regard to the safety of his subjects will suffer him to renounce that system of vigorous defence to which, under the favor of Providence, his kingdoms owe the security of those blessings which they now enjoy.

“ GRENVILLE.”

The whole of this very extraordinary correspondence was immediately communicated to parliament by message from the king; and, on the 28th of January, lord Grenville moved an address to the throne, which he ushered in by an harangue of outrageous abuse and violence against the first consul. “ He had multiplied violations of all moral and religious duties; he had repeated acts of perfidy; his hypocrisies were innumerable; and, in the declarations which affirmed the French to be true mussulmen, he had given us a correct idea of his sincerity and his principles.” The address was ably opposed by the duke of Bedford, who observed “ that there were no terms sufficiently

Correspondence between M. Talleyrand and Lord Grenville laid before parliament—

Memoable debate on the same.

BOOK strong to censure the littleness which attacked  
XXXIII. the personal character of Bonaparte in order to  
1800. ruin him in the estimation of the French na-  
tion. Could these railing accusations," asked  
his grace, "enable us to negotiate with more  
effect, or in any degree facilitate the prospect  
of peace?" He concluded with moving an  
amendment to the address, expressive of disap-  
probation, censure, and regret, for the evil  
counsels by which his majesty had been induced  
to reject the advances made for that purpose.

Lord Romney, though he professed to ap-  
prove the general conduct of ministers, thought  
they had, in this instance, taken wrong ground,  
and had acted improperly in their abrupt rejec-  
tion of the overtures of France. "No bad con-  
sequences could have ensued from entering into  
a negotiation, and our preparations might have  
gone on with equal vigor for the succeeding cam-  
paign. If the terms of Bonaparte had been un-  
reasonable, they might have been refused; and  
the odium of prolonging the war would have  
devolved on France." His lordship said he  
could not, in consistency with his sentiments,  
vote either for the address or the amendment.  
Lord Carlisle, who approved the rejection of  
the overtures in present circumstances, admitted  
the letters of lord Grenville to be violent, and  
apparently indiscreet. But the earl of Liver-

pool maintained "that ministers had adopted the only course of security and honor by their replies to the proposition of Bonaparte. Until the French repealed their decrees, of which one was that they had a right to interfere with every government upon earth, and another that they had a right to annex any part of Europe which fell into their hands to the republic, no good could be derived from any negotiation. All the commerce of the world was now brought into our harbors: should we depart from a system which had placed us in so prosperous a situation?"—In answer to the latter part of his argument, lord Carlisle admonished the noble earl that this reasoning was decisive against entering into a negotiation with France at any time and under any circumstances; and he begged to ask the noble lord "whether it was arguing like a philosopher or a statesman to insist that war must be continued *in infinitum*, in order that all the ships of the world might come into the port of London?" In the result, though manifest symptoms of dissatisfaction appeared on the part of many of the ministerial lords, the address was carried by the usual overwhelming majority.

In the house of commons, Mr. Dundas moved (February 3) a similar address, which he supported, after the example of lord Grenville, in stigmatising, with the utmost asperity of language, the character and conduct of Bonaparte;

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BOOK in whose hands, he affirmed, "that all power  
XXXIII. was now consolidated and concentrated. It was  
1800. not," he said, "France in arms which was to be  
dreaded by Great Britain, but the permanent  
existence of a government founded on bad prin-  
ciples and bad faith. Such a government must,  
therefore, be overthrown, or its powers reduced,  
before this country could safely consent to treat.  
He admitted that twice within these four years  
England had entered into negotiation with  
France. But the feelings of ministers were re-  
pugnant to the measure, and its success would  
have proved a calamity."

Mr. Whitbread observed "that every ex-  
pression which could revile, every topic which  
could prejudice, every art which could blacken,  
had been used for the purposes of political  
slander. But even allowing Bonaparte to be  
precisely what he had been described, was he  
the only person who could be accused of a vi-  
olation of honor or good-faith? In the subver-  
sion of the Venetian republic, a transaction  
he would not defend, was not Austria equally  
concerned? Were not both parties alike culpa-  
ble? England was now smarting under the  
treachery of Prussia, who took an enormous  
subsidy from us, and then broke through all  
engagements. Did not three of the first pow-  
ers in Europe divide and appropriate to them-  
selves the unfortunate kingdom of Poland, whilst

England was a tame spectator? Yet Austria and Russia were still our good and true allies. <sup>BOOK  
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1800.</sup> Is not Bonaparte as upright as these? If he had broken treaties, so had they; if he had killed his thousands, Suwaroff had killed his ten thousands. Ministers very modestly required that Bonaparte should acknowledge himself an usurper, recant his principles, descend from the exalted situation which he now filled, in order that the house of Bourbon might be re-instated. But was it really their wish to lavish the blood and treasure of England to effect that restoration? We were now contending either for this, or for the extermination of jacobinical principles. If for the former, we were fighting for an unattainable object; if for the latter, against opinions,—which could not be eradicated by force; and, in both cases, the contest must endure as long as time itself."

Mr. Erskine remarked "that whether it were politic or impolitic to accede to the armistice proposed by France, or even to the unqualified overture of negotiation, under no circumstances, and at no time, could such an answer as was actually returned be either wise or decent from the ministers of any nation to any possible professions of conciliation and peace. It was rash, insolent, and provoking, without necessity. Had ministers been able, by eight years of in-

BOOK XXXIII. vective, to mitigate the evils of the French revolution? On the contrary, had we not, by persisting in an hostile line of conduct, and declaring France incapable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity, placed her out of the pale of social community; and by this means heightened, and even created, many of the evils which we deplored? Could it be a matter of wonder if France, thus denounced as a public enemy, should be actuated by the spirit of retaliation, and, in her ungoverned rage, desolate whatever territory she occupied? Or that, warring against so formidable a confederacy, the rights of nations should be so little respected? Was not the world agitated with portentous violence, because the ministers of Great Britain had resolved to re-establish an order of things which had reached its destined period and expired? Mr. Erskine treated with contempt the idea that the present overture from the first consul was to be rejected as insincere. Surrounded with perils, at the head of an untried government, menaced by a great confederacy, of which England was the acknowledged chief, compelled to press heavily on the resources of an exhausted people, peace was undoubtedly his interest; and he might be reasonably expected to make great sacrifices for the re-establishment of the national tranquillity. In every

view he disapproved the answer which had been sent by ministers to Bonaparte. It appeared to him to be pregnant with danger, and to entail an awful responsibility upon those who advised and those who supported it."

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The attention of the house was then attracted by a labored and eloquent oration from the chancellor of the exchequer, who, embracing a very large scope, endeavoured by every possible artifice of rhetoric, taking a retrospective view of things from the very commencement of the revolution, to revive and inflame to the utmost all the angry and malignant passions of human nature, against a nation from which such frank and generous overtures for the renewal of amity had so recently proceeded. Mr. Pitt stated to the house, that the foundation of the reasoning of the last speaker, and his grand argument for immediate treaty, was the supposed impossibility of overturning the French revolution ; and that it would not only be imprudent but impious to struggle any longer against the order of things, which—upon he knew not what idea of predestination—he regarded as immortal. Mr. Pitt acknowledged that he did indeed consider the revolution as the severest trial which the visitation of Providence had ever yet inflicted on the nations of the earth : but he could not help reflecting with satisfaction that this country, even

BOOK under such a trial, had not only been exempted  
XXXIII. from those calamities which had covered almost  
1800. every other part of Europe, but appeared to have  
been reserved as a refuge and asylum to those  
who fled from its persecution; as a barrier to op-  
pose its progress; and, perhaps, ultimately as an  
instrument to deliver the world from the crimes  
and miseries which have attended it. Mr. Pitt,  
in adverting to the origin of the war, affirmed  
that the refusal to recognise M. Chauvelin in the  
capacity of ambassador from the republic, in no  
sort accelerated that event. He maintained, on  
the contrary, that an opportunity was afforded  
for discussion as fully as if a regular and accred-  
ited minister had been resident here, but that  
all the explanations on the side of France were  
inadmissible. He justified the rejection of M.  
Chauvelin's new credentials. We had a right  
to reply to M. Chauvelin, when he tendered  
them, 'We have had no satisfaction for the  
injuries we have received; no security from the  
dangers with which we are threatened: under  
these circumstances we will not accept your  
new credentials: the former you have your-  
selves recalled by the sacrifice of your king.'  
Mr. Pitt, after uttering in this strain a long and  
furious invective against the French republic,  
observed "that it was after receiving the most  
insulting declarations from the government of

France, under the name of explanations, that M. Chauvelin was required to depart: and even after that period—he was almost ashamed to record it—we did not on our part shut the door against other attempts to negotiate. But this transaction was immediately followed by the declaration of war—not proceeding from England in vindication of her rights, but from France as the completion of her insults. And, on a war thus originating, could it be doubted by an English house of commons whether the aggression was imputable to this country or to France? or whether the manifest aggression on the part of France was the result of any thing but the principles which characterise the French revolution?

“ The only objection to this simple statement of facts was to be found in the insinuation contained in the note from France, that this country had, previous to the transactions to which he had referred, encouraged and supported the combination of other powers directed against the French nation.

“ Upon investigating the subject, the proofs which contradicted such an insinuation were innumerable. In the year 1792, Russia conceived, as well as ourselves, a natural and just alarm for the balance of Europe, and applied to learn our sentiments. In our answer we im-

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BOOK parted the principles on which we then acted;  
XXXIII. and we communicated this answer to the court  
1800. of Berlin, with whom we were connected in de-  
fensive alliance. On the 29th of December,  
1792, a dispatch was sent from lord Grenville  
to his majesty's minister in Russia, stating  
'the line of conduct to be followed previous to  
the commencement of hostilities, with the view,  
if possible, to avert them, and the nature and  
amount of the forces which the powers engaged  
in this concert might be enabled to use, suppos-  
ing such extremities unavoidable.'—As to the  
first, it appeared most advisable that the powers  
not hitherto engaged in the war should propose  
to the French nation terms of peace;—that those  
terms should be the withdrawing their arms  
within the limits of the French territory—the  
abandoning their conquests—the rescinding any  
acts injurious to the sovereignty or rights of any  
other nation—and the giving, in some public  
and unequivocal manner, a pledge of their in-  
tention no longer to foment troubles or excite  
disturbances against other governments. In re-  
turn for these stipulations, the different potentates  
of Europe who should be parties to this mea-  
sure, might engage to abandon all measures or  
views of hostility against France, or interference  
in her internal affairs; and to maintain a cor-  
respondence and intercourse of amity with the

existing powers in that country with whom such a treaty may be concluded. If, on the result of this proposal so made by the potentates acting in concert, these terms should not be accepted by France, or, being accepted, should not be satisfactorily performed, the different powers might then engage themselves to each other to enter into active measures, for the purpose of obtaining the ends in view; and it may be to be considered, whether, in such case, they might not reasonably look to some INDEMNITY for the expenses and hazards to which they would necessarily be exposed."—As to the second point, viz. "that of the forces to be employed," Mr. Pitt thought it unnecessary then to speak.

The minister, on finishing this recital, asked, in a very high and lofty tone, "whether it was possible to conceive any measure to be adopted, in the situation in which we then stood, which could more evidently demonstrate our desire, after repeated provocations, to preserve peace on any terms consistent with our safety? or whether any sentiment could now be suggested which would have more plainly marked our moderation, forbearance, and sincerity?"—He declared, "that he was, upon this account, far from challenging the applause of his country; for he confessed that ministers were too slow in anticipating the danger resulting from revolu-

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1800. tional principles, against which, nothing but vigorous and open hostility can afford complete and adequate security\*. You cannot," said this eloquent orator, "look at the map of Europe, and lay your hand upon that country against which France has not either declared an open and aggressive war, or violated some positive treaty, or broken some recognised principle of the law of nations. The all-searching eye of the French revolution looks to every part of Eu-

\* The paper so vauntingly panegyrised on the part of Mr. Pitt for its forbearance and moderation, was in fact flagrantly insidious, and decidedly hostile to France. Scarcely had the war commenced, when France, then under the constitutional monarchy, applied earnestly to England to mediate between her and the Germanic powers. This was refused on the shallow pretext that it was not desired by both the belligerent parties: and the English court saw the invasion of France, and the probable dismemberment of her provinces, with apparent complacency; but no sooner had the war taken a different turn, and France had not only repelled her invading foes, but occupied an extensive portion of their territory, than the court of London made overtures to Russia, to compel France to make ignominious retractions, and to conclude a peace upon condition of relinquishing all her acquisitions. These imperious demands it was previously certain that France would not comply with: in which case the MEDIATING POWERS might engage themselves in active measures, to obtain not only SECURITY, but INDEMNITY, at the expense of the republic. Such was the boasted candor and impartiality of the British government in this great contest between France and her continental enemies!

rope and every quarter of the world in which can be found an object either of acquisition or plunder. Nothing is too great for the temerity of its ambition; nothing too small or insignificant for the grasp of its rapacity. Even to INDIA messengers were sent, for the purpose of inculcating war in those distant regions on revolutionary principles. An insatiable love of aggrandisement—an implacable spirit of destruction against all the civil and religious institutions of every country;—*this* is the first moving and acting spirit of the French revolution. This is the spirit which animated it at its birth, and this is the spirit which will not desert it till the moment of its dissolution.—From the alliance of the most horrid principles with the most horrid means only, could such calamities have been brought upon Europe. Groaning under every degree of misery, the victim of its own crimes, France still retains new and unexampled capacities of annoyance and destruction against all the other powers of Europe.”

After dwelling very long on this part of his subject, Mr. Pitt adverted to the different negotiations for peace which had taken place.—“ It had,” he said, “ been affirmed, that the negotiation of 1796 was broken off on the single point of the possession of the Netherlands; and therefore, upon this ground only has the war

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BOOK since that time been continued. But it was  
XXXIII. ~~1800.~~ not on the decision of this question of po-  
litical expediency that the issue of the ne-  
gotiation then turned. What was required of  
us by France, was not merely that we should  
acquiesce in her retaining the Netherlands; but  
that we should, as a *preliminary* to all treaty  
and all discussion, recognise the principle, that  
whatever France, in time of war, had annexed  
to the republic, must remain inseparable for  
ever, and could not become the subject of nego-  
tiation. In refusing such a preliminary, we  
were only resisting the claim of France to arro-  
gate to itself the power of controlling, by its  
own separate and municipal acts, the rights and  
interests of other countries, and moulding, at its  
discretion, a new and general code of the law  
of nations\*. In the year 1797, Mr. Pitt said,

\* But Mr. Pitt dare not assert, in plain terms, that England would or ought to have continued the war in opposition to the abstract claim of the French government, if the Austrian Low Countries had not been accidentally included in the scope of it. No *recognition* of the claim was required—it was a question merely of terms; and the indubitable *fact* is, that the negotiation of 1796 broke off precisely and specifically on the peremptory demand, or *sine qua non*, of lord Malmesbury, for the restoration of the Netherlands. It would indeed have been inexpressibly absurd to have broken off the negotiation in consequence of any such *mere* theoretical or speculative assumption on the part of France; but

under the pressure of a necessity which he <sup>BOOK</sup> should not disguise, we made another attempt <sup>XXXIII.</sup> to negotiate. "It was not now a demand that France should restore any thing—Austria having made peace upon her own terms. So far from retaining any French possessions in our own hands, we freely offered them all; requiring only, as a poor compensation, to retain a part of what we had acquired by arms from Holland, then identified with France. This proposal also was proudly refused, in a way which had been reprobated by the general voice of the country." Having exhausted the stores of his eloquence on this topic, and the subsequent conduct of France respecting Switzerland, America, and Egypt, he came at length to the consideration of the question before the house. "A characteristic of the republic of France, as striking as its power of destruction, was its instability, which was of itself sufficient to annihilate all confidence in its rulers. Such had been the incredible rapidity with which the revolutions in France had succeeded each other, that the names

when that speculative assumption involved in it a practical point, which the court of London was determined not to give up, it was *convenient* to exhibit the theoretical claim in the most odious colors, and to represent it as the **SOLE** cause, though in reality no cause at all, of the failure of the negotiation.

BOOK of those who have successively exercised absolute power under the pretence of liberty, were to be numbered by the years which had elapsed.

Having taken a view of what France was," said the minister, "let us now examine what it is. A supreme power is placed at the head of this nominal republic, with a more open avowal of military despotism than at any former period. The different institutions, republican in form and appearance, which were before the instruments of that despotism, are now annihilated. They have given way to the absolute power of one man, concentrating in himself all the authority of the state, and differing from other monarchs only in this, that he wields a sword instead of a sceptre. What, in these circumstances, is the confidence we are to derive, either from the frame of the government, or from the character and conduct of the person who is now the absolute ruler of France?"

Mr. Pitt then took a most minute and malignant survey of the public conduct of Bonaparte, from the commencement of his civil and military career to the present period; in France, in Italy, and in Egypt. "His acts of perfidy," he said, "were commensurate with the number of his treaties; and if we trace the history of those deeds which have been stained by the most atrocious cruelty, and marked the most strongly with

the characteristic features of the revolution, the name of Bonaparte will be found allied to more of them than that of any other which can be handed down in the narrative of the crimes and miseries of the last ten years. But it will perhaps be argued, that, whatever may be his character, or whatever has been his past conduct, he has now an interest in making and observing peace. This was to him a doubtful proposition : that it was his interest to negotiate, he readily would acknowledge ; and to negotiate with this country separately, in order to loosen and dissolve the whole system of the confederacy on the continent ; to palsy at once the arms of Russia or of Austria, or of any other country that might look to Great Britain for support. But on what grounds are we to be convinced that he has an interest in concluding a solid pacification ? What other security has he for retaining his newly-acquired power than the sword ? He is a stranger, a foreigner, and an usurper. He appeals to his fortune ; and placing his whole reliance on military support, can he afford to let his military renown pass away ? to let his laurels wither ? to let the memory of his trophies sink in obscurity ? What grounds have we to believe that this new usurpation, more odious and more undisguised than all that preceded it, will be more durable ? I say not that we will in no

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BOOK case treat with Bonaparte ; but, in the language  
XXXIII.  
1800. of the answer returned to the French note, I say  
that we ought to wait for EXPERIENCE and the  
EVIDENCE OF FACTS before we are convinced that  
such a treaty is admissible. Considering the im-  
portance of obtaining complete security for the  
objects for which we contend, we ought not to  
be discouraged too soon ; but the limits, beyond  
which it would be wrong to persist, can be deter-  
mined only by estimating and comparing fairly,  
from time to time, the degree of security to be  
obtained by treaty, and the risk and disadvan-  
tage of continuing the contest. If there ap-  
peared signs of a stable government, not now  
to be traced ;—if the danger of the contest  
should increase, whilst the hope of ultimate suc-  
cess should be diminished ; these considerations  
would have their due weight. But if the que-  
stion is no longer between monarchy and even  
the pretence and name of liberty, but between  
the ancient line of hereditary princes on the one  
hand, and a military tyrant, a foreign usurper,  
on the other ;—if the armies of that usurper are  
likely to find sufficient occupation on the fron-  
tiers, and to be forced at length to leave the in-  
terior of the country at liberty to manifest its  
real feeling and disposition ; what reason have we  
to anticipate that the restoration of monarchy,  
under such circumstances, is impracticable ? And

can it be supposed to be indifferent to us or to <sup>BOOK</sup> the world, whether the throne of France is to be <sup>XXXIII.</sup> filled by a prince of the house of Bourbon, or by <sup>1800.</sup> him whose principles and conduct I have endeavoured to develope? Is it nothing whether a system shall be sanctioned which confirms, by one of its fundamental articles, a general transfer of property from its ancient and lawful possessors; which holds out one of the most terrible examples of national injustice; and which has, by this very act of injustice, furnished the great resource of revolutionary finance and revolutionary strength against all the powers of Europe? It is true indeed, that even the gigantic and unnatural means by which that revolution has been supported, are so far impaired, the influence of its principles and the terror of its arms so far weakened, and its power of action so much contracted and circumscribed, that, against the embodied force of Europe, prosecuting a vigorous war, we may justly hope that the remnant and wreck of this system cannot long oppose an effectual resistance. At this moment I see no possibility of such a peace as would be attended with any of the advantages of established tranquillity; and as I cannot be content with its nominal attainments, I will not grasp at the shadow when the reality is beyond my reach—*Cur igitur pa-*

BOOK *cem nolo? Quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia  
XXXIII. esse non potest.*

1800. Mr. Fox immediately rose in reply. "All parties," said this renowned orator and statesman, "are agreed in opinion, that the present is a new æra of the war: yet the right honorable gentleman does not seem to think any new arguments necessary to induce us to persevere in it. All the topics which have so often misled us—all the reasoning which has so invariably failed—all the lofty predictions which have been so constantly falsified by events—all the hopes which have amused the sanguine, and all the assurances of the distress and weakness of the enemy which have satisfied the unthinking, are again enumerated and advanced as arguments for our continuing the war. Were we not told, five years ago, that France was not only on the verge of ruin, but actually sunk in the gulf of bankruptcy; that she could not hold out another campaign; and that we had nothing to do but to persevere for a short time in order to save ourselves for ever from the consequences of her ambition and her jacobinism? After having gone on from year to year upon assurances like these; and after having seen the repeated refutations of every prediction, are we again to be gravely and seriously told that we have the

same prospect of success on the same identical grounds? And upon those assurances and predictions, which have so uniformly failed, we are called upon, not merely to refuse all negotiation, but to countenance principles and views as distant from wisdom and justice as they are in their nature wild and impracticable. I must lament, in common with every genuine friend of peace, the harsh and unconciliating language which ministers have made use of in their answer to a respectful offer of negotiation. Such language has ever been reprobated and considered as extremely unwise by the most celebrated diplomatic characters. I must lament that such license has this night been given to invective and reproach; and that the right honorable gentleman has entered with such severity and minuteness of investigation into all the early circumstances of the war, which, whatever they were, are nothing to the present purpose. I certainly shall not follow him in his details; but I will tell him, fairly and candidly, that, until I see better grounds for changing my opinion than any he has this night produced, I shall continue to think and to affirm that this country was the aggressor in the war betwixt France and England. But with regard to Austria and Prussia, no man can, against the evidence of documents so clear and decisive, *plausibly* contend that *they* were not

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BOOK engaged in a war of aggression. The unfortunate monarch, Louis XVI., himself, as well as  
XXXIII. 1800. those who were in his confidence, have borne testimony to the fact that between him and the emperor there existed a perfect understanding. No man can read the declarations of Pilnitz and Mantua, as they are given by M. Bertrand de Moleville, without perceiving an intention on the part of the great powers of Germany to interfere by force in the internal government of France. Was it not a menace and an insult to France to declare, that, whenever the other powers of Europe should concur, they would attack France, with whom they were then at peace? And, when we see it established on the most indisputable testimony that both at Pilnitz and Mantua declarations were made to this effect, it is idle to say that, as far as the emperor and the king of Prussia were concerned, they were not the aggressors in the war. As to the decree of November, which the right honorable gentleman styles an act of heinous aggression on the part of France, I am not one of those who attach much interest to wild indiscriminate propositions thrown out at random; nor do I think it consistent with the dignity of a great nation to apply to itself menaces of this vague and general nature. If any such provocation should be deemed worthy of notice, an explanation ought,

in the first instance, to be demanded; and, in the present case, we all know that M. Chauvelin did give an explanation of this offensive decree. He declared, in the name of his government, 'that it was never meant to favor insurrections; that France would respect, not only the independence of England, but also that of her allies with whom the republic was not at war.' A nation, to justify itself, in appealing to the last solemn resort, ought to prove that it had taken every possible means, consistent with its dignity, to obtain, for any injury offered, such reparation and redress as would be satisfactory; and, if she refused fairly and candidly to explain what would be satisfactory, she did not do her duty, nor exonerate herself from the charge of being the aggressor. The right-honorable gentleman has this night, for the first time, produced a most important paper—the instructions which were given to his majesty's minister at the court of St. Petersburg about the end of the year 1792, to prevent, by the joint mediation of England and Russia, the evils of a general war. This the right-honorable gentleman seems disposed to take blame to himself for, and to make the subject of his apology—*Quod solum excusat, hoc solum miror in illo.* But why was not this idea acted upon? The merit of this paper is confined to the composition. It was a fine theory never

BOOK to be carried into practice. This dispatch, or the  
xxxiii. substance of it, was never communicated to the

1800. French, never acted upon, never known to the world until this day. On the contrary, at the very time that ministers had drawn up this paper, they were insulting M. Chauvelin in every way; until, about the 23d or 24th of January, they finally dismissed him without stating any one ground upon which they were willing to preserve terms with the French; and knowing that, by the treaty of 1786, the dismissal of a minister was to be considered as tantamount to a declaration of war. In all this I am not justifying the French. I am not striving to absolve them from blame either in their internal or external policy. I think, on the contrary, that their successive rulers have been as bad as any that the world ever saw. I think it impossible that it

could have been otherwise. They could not

have lived so long under their ancient masters

without exciting the restless ambition, the per-

petually unsatisfiable spirit of the Bourbon

monarchs. Their whole career of mis-

fortune, however, they may have done no more

than to fulfil the prediction of Louis the GRAND

that, as we have seen, he made concerning that,

“The French will be ruined by their own greatness of the

French, and by their own contempt of the French.”

ties, their perfidy, and their restless spirit, we ought not to refuse to treat with their republican imitators. The right-honorable gentleman makes it his boast that he was prevented, by a predilection for the system of neutrality, from taking timely measures of precaution. But this neutrality, which respected only the internal rights of the French, and from which the people of England would never have departed but for the impolitic and hypocritical cant which was employed to arouse their jealousy and alarm their fears, was very different from the great principle of political prudence which ought to have actuated the councils of the nation on seeing the first steps of France towards a career of external conquest. My opinion is, when the unfortunate Louis offered and even entreated us to mediate between him and the allied powers of Austria and Prussia, that England should have accepted the offer, and exerted her influence to save the nations of Christendom from the calamities with which they were threatened. Having not done so, ministers have no right to talk about the aggression of France and the violated rights of Europe. If this war of reproach and invective is to be countenanced and continued against the French, surely we ought not to be wholly indifferent to the character of other powers, with whom we maintain a connexion of

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BOOK XXXIII. friendship. But is there a single atrocity of  
1800. France, in Italy, in Switzerland, or in Egypt,  
which is not equalled by the conduct of Russia,  
Austria, and Prussia, our allies, in this war for  
religion and social order, in the devoted king-  
dom of Poland?

“‘The lover of liberty,’ says the right-hono-  
rable gentleman, ‘thought himself at home on the  
favored and happy mountains of Switzerland,  
her undisturbed and chosen asylum.’ But who  
first proposed to the Swiss people to depart from  
that neutrality which was their chief protection?  
Was not the minister of England, lord Robert  
Fitzgerald, instructed in direct terms to urge  
these happy and sequestered communities to  
break through the safe line they had marked  
for themselves; and to tell them, ‘that in such a  
contest neutrality was criminal?’—What was our  
language to Tuscany? Was not the grand duke  
compelled to dismiss the French minister under  
the menace of bombarding Leghorn?—Or need  
I speak of the insults offered to the republic of  
Genoa, and the hostile blockade of her capital?

“The French seized on Venice; and I agree  
with the right-honorable gentleman that this was  
an abominable act. But was it quite within the  
rule of diplomatic morality for Austria immedi-  
ately to accept the transfer of the country, thus  
making itself a party in the transaction so

justly reprobated? No man regrets more than I do the enormities which France has committed: but how do they bear upon the question as it now stands? Are we for ever to deprive ourselves of the benefits of peace, because the French have perpetrated acts of injustice? No; with the knowledge of these injurious acts, we have treated with them twice. The crimes of the French, and the instability of their government, were no obstacles to treating with them in 1796; and, when baffled in that negotiation, to opening another at Lisle in 1797. Of these negotiations, the right-honorable gentleman has indeed given us this curious and, as he calls it, *honest* account—‘that he apprehended danger from the success of his own efforts to procure a pacification, and that he was not displeased at its failure. He was sincere in his endeavours to treat, but was not disappointed when they failed; for a state of peace, circumstanced as we then were in relation to France, he regarded as more insecure than a state of war.’—I have no hesitation in allowing the fact, that a state of peace, immediately after a war of such violence, must, in some respects, be a state of insecurity. But are we never to have peace, because such peace may be insecure? Why, then, did the right-honorable gentleman consent to treat? Because ‘the unequivocal sense of the people of England was in fa-

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BOOK vor of negotiation.' This he himself now tells us,  
XXXIII. I thought so at the time; and so the petitions on  
1800. your table stated it to be. But who does not re-  
collect with what contempt those petitions were  
treated, and how little they were allowed to  
speak the sense of the people. Now we find  
these petitions did speak the sense of the people,  
and that ministers acted upon it in contempt of  
the vote of parliament. The negotiation of 1796  
broke off upon the question of Belgium. 'This,'  
says the right-honorable gentleman, 'is a mis-  
take: it went off on account of a monstrous  
principle advanced by France, incompatible with  
all negotiation.' But, in the succeeding year, a  
new negotiation was, by the solicitation of the  
English government, opened with the French at  
Lisle, without waiting for the retraction of this  
incompatible principle, and with all the enormities  
of the French upon their heads. I do not blame  
ministers for this; but I insist that the former ne-  
gotiation could not, as the right-honorable gentle-  
man pretends, have been broken off in consequence  
of the avowal of any such incompatible principle.  
But ministers tell us they have not refused all  
discussion. They have declared the restoration  
of the house of Bourbon to be an event which  
would immediately remove every obstacle to ne-  
gotiation. If the restoration of that house be  
the wish of the French nation, I, for one, shall be

perfectly content to acquiesce; but, as an Englishman, actuated by English feelings, I cannot wish for their restoration to the power which they abused. I feel for their situation; I respect their distresses; but I cannot forget that the history of the century is little more than an account of the calamities arising from their intrigues, their perfidy, and their ambition.

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XXXIII.

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"The restoration of the house of Bourbon is, however, denied to be a *sine qua non*. The right-honorable gentleman, in language which I do not understand, talks of *limited possibilities*, which may induce ministers to treat with France, though this restoration should not take place. But these must depend upon EXPERIENCE and the EVIDENCE of FACTS; and, in order to convince the house that new evidence is requisite, he goes back to all the earliest acts and crimes of the revolution; to all the atrocities of the governments which have passed away; and contends that he must have experience of the adoption of a purer and better system, by which he may be sure that France shall be capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity. It seems, therefore, that the war is to be continued till all the peaceable virtues are excited, and for the very purpose of exciting them. What can we say of such a test, but that it is hopeless? It is the nature of war to inflame animosity, not

BOOK to generate moderation; to exasperate, not to  
sooth; to widen, not to approximate; and, during  
1800. the continuance of hostility, it is ridiculous to re-  
quire evidence of a peaceable demeanor.

" But it is held to be a degradation to treat with  
an usurper, a military despot, whose power it is  
taken for granted will be short-lived. Was not  
the government erected by Julius Cæsar a mili-  
tary despotism? and yet it lasted for five or six  
hundred years. Cromwell was an usurper, yet  
France and Spain did not refuse to treat with  
him upon that account. It may be said that the  
splendor of his talents and the success of his  
arms gave weight and authority to his govern-  
ment. But may not the same be affirmed of  
Bonaparte? Is not he a man of great abilities?  
and are not the French as likely to acquiesce in his  
government as the English were in that of Crom-  
well? For this the right-honorable gentleman  
professes to wait. But will not the very test  
required, the acquiescence of the people of  
France in his government, give him an advan-  
tage-ground in the negotiation which he does  
not possess now? Is it quite sure that he will  
then treat on the same terms as now? Will he  
not have one interest less than at present to de-  
sire peace? and is it politic to overlook a favora-  
ble occasion of terminating this destructive, war  
for a chance so extremely doubtful? These are

the considerations I would urge on his majesty's book ministers, against the dangerous experiment of waiting for the acquiescence of the people of France.

" But the right-honorable gentleman has another salvo in store :—‘ If the allies of this country shall be less successful than may reasonably be expected, in stirring up the people of France, and in the further prosecution of the war ; or if the pressure of the war should be heavier upon us than it would be convenient to the nation for a continuance to bear’—then the right-honorable gentleman would consent to treat even with Bonaparte. I have often blamed the minister for being disingenuous and insincere : on the present occasion I certainly cannot charge him with any such thing : he has made to-night a most honest confession : he is open and candid : he tells Bonaparte what he has to expect :—‘ I mean,’ says he, ‘ to do every thing in my power to raise up the people of France against you. I have engaged a number of allies, and our combined efforts shall be used to excite insurrection and civil war in France : if I succeed,—well ; but if I fail, then I will treat with you. My resources being exhausted, and my solid system of finance vanished into air, you will see me renounce my high tone, my attachment to the house of Bourbon, my abhorrence of your

~~BOOK~~ crimes, my alarm at your principles.' Is this a  
~~XXXIII.~~ political language for one state to hold to another? And what sort of peace does the right honorable gentleman expect to receive in that case? Does he think that Bonaparte would grant to baffled insolence, to humiliated pride, to disappointment and imbecility, the same terms which he would be ready to give now?

"Sir, what is the question to-night? We are called upon to support ministers in refusing a frank, candid, and respectful offer of negotiation; and to countenance them in continuing the war. But let us for a moment suppose that ministers had been inclined to adopt the line of conduct which they pursued in 1796 and 1797; and that the address purported to contain thanks to his majesty for accepting the overture, and for opening a negotiation to treat for peace. I appeal to all the members of this house—I desire them to lay their hands upon their hearts, and to say whether they would not have cordially voted for such an address. Had the address breathed the spirit of peace, your benches would have resounded with praises and rejoicings; and I ask for the votes of none but those who, in the secret confession of their conscience, admit at this instant, while they hear me, that they would have cheerfully and heartily voted with the minister for an address directly the reverse of this. If

every gentlemen of that description should vote with me, I should be this night in the greatest majority that ever I had. the honor to vote with 1800. BOOK  
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" We have heard to-night many acrimonious invectives against Bonaparte—against the whole course of his conduct—and against the unprincipled manner in which he seized upon the reins of government: I will not make his defence. I think all this sort of invective, which is used only to inflame the passions of this house and of the country, exceedingly ill-timed, and very impolitic—but I repeat, that I will not make his defence. I am not sufficiently in possession of materials upon which to form an opinion on the character of this extraordinary man. On his arrival in France he found the government in a very unsettled state, and the whole affairs of the republic deranged, crippled, and involved: he thought it necessary to reform the government, and he reformed it in a way which may be deemed most natural to a military man—by seizing on the whole authority himself. It will not be expected from me, that I should either approve or apologise for such an act; but why the right-honorable gentleman should be so violently indignant upon this occasion, I cannot discover. Is it not the system which was so happily and so advantageously established of late all over Ire-

BOOK land? and which, even now, the government  
XXXIII. may at its pleasure proclaim over the whole of  
1800. that kingdom—and this at a time when the people of Ireland are called upon to discuss the interesting and momentous question of a legislative union? This the right-honorable gentleman thinks precisely the period, and these the circumstances, in which she may best declare her free and unbiassed opinion. What right have ministers, then, to exclaim against military despotism in France?—But it seems Bonaparte has broken his oaths—he has violated his oath of fidelity to the constitution of the third year. I confess myself of the number of those who think that such oaths ought not to be exacted: they are seldom or never of any effect; and I am not for sporting with a thing so sacred as an oath. Who ever heard, that, in revolutions, the oath of fidelity to the former government was regarded? The violation of their oaths of allegiance was never imputed to the people of England when they expelled the house of Stuart, and will never in similar circumstances be imputed as a crime to any people. But who brings forward this charge of perjury?—he who desires the whole French nation to violate the oaths they have so recently taken, and who makes the success of his project depend entirely upon that national act of perjury.

“ We are told that Bonaparte has declared it

as his opinion, that the two governments of Great Britain and of France cannot exist together. After the treaty of Campo Formio, he sent two confidential persons (Berthier and Monge) to the directory, to say so in his name. Supposing it to be true that this absurd and puerile assertion was actually made by Bonaparte, has not the right-honorable gentleman in this house said the same thing?—in this, at least, they resemble one another; they have both made this assertion, and they are perhaps the only two persons upon earth who have adopted this sentiment. If we are to reason on facts instead of assertion, I should think it equally the interest and the inclination of Bonaparte to make peace. His measure of military glory is full: it may be tarnished by a reverse of fortune, and can hardly be increased by any new laurels: peace would secure to him what he has achieved, and fix the inconstancy of fortune.—Sir, I have done. I have told you my opinion. I think you ought to have given a civil, clear, and explicit answer to the overture which was fairly and handsomely made to you. If you were desirous that the negotiation should have included all your allies, as the means of bringing about a general peace, you should have told Bonaparte so; but I believe you were afraid of his agreeing to the proposal. I know that public opinion, if it could be collected, would be for peace as much now as in 1797; and I know

~~BOOK~~  
~~XXXIII.~~  
1800. that it is only by public opinion, not by a sense  
 of duty, not by the inclination of their minds,  
 that ministers will be brought, if ever, to give us  
 peace."

On the conclusion of this memorable speech, the house divided; in favor of the address, 262 against sixty-six voices. But the impression made upon the majority of the members, by the arguments of Mr. Fox, was too forcible to be concealed. The political adherents of Mr. Pitt could not desert him upon a question of this momentous nature, without imminently endangering the tenure by which he held his ministerial office: this alone prevented his being left in a very small minority; the furious faction of the alarmists or Burkites only, in reality, coinciding in sentiment with the ministers on this occasion. The tale of French aggression and French atrocity had now been so often repeated, that no power of language could revive the original impression. The feelings of the nation at large, on this question of common humanity and common sense, were in perfect unison with those really entertained, and indeed very openly avowed, by their representatives; and it was with irresistible conviction felt, that, under the influence of the present rash and revengeful system, it was in vain to hope for the restoration of the blessings of peace.

It could scarcely be imagined that an event

The administration becomes unpopular.

so disgraceful and disastrous to the British <sup>BOOK</sup> arms as the capitulation of the Helder, should <sup>XXXIII.</sup> pass entirely unnoticed by parliament.

1800.

Motion of  
Mr. Sheri-  
dan for an  
inquiry  
into the  
causes of  
the failure  
of the ex-  
pedition to  
Holland,  
negatived.

On the sixteenth of February, Mr. Sheridan moved for an inquiry into the causes of the failure of the expedition to Holland, which he supported in a very animated speech. He animadverted on the precipitate adjournment of parliament previous to the recess, as done with a manifest view to stifle all investigation at a time when the disgrace was recent and the feelings of the country warm. He ridiculed, with much pleasantry, the confidence expressed by Mr. Pitt in the success of the expedition, founded on *his knowledge of HUMAN NATURE.* At the breaking out of the present war, the Dutch, against their own wishes—nay, against the remonstrances of many friends of the house of Orange, had been compelled by us to abandon their beloved neutrality, though we had been found unequal to their protection at the moment of difficulty. He treated with contempt the specious language of the declarations addressed to the Dutch nation during the late invasion, in which so much was said to them of the blessings to be derived from returning order, religion, and regular government. Instead of all these reflexions, with the wise exhortations annexed, to forget and forgive, if the minister had said, in plain terms, *we will*

BOOK give you back your colonies, the argument would  
XXXIII. have been understood, and the effect might have  
1800. been favorable; but, in the insidious language  
of the proclamation, they saw nothing more than  
a request to forget they ever had any colonies,  
and to forgive us for taking them. Mr. Sheridan,  
in a more serious strain, declared it to be arro-  
gant and presumptuous to embark in such a de-  
sign upon vain speculation. Mr. Pitt ought to  
have acted upon authentic information and prac-  
tical grounds, and not upon his visionary theories  
of HUMAN NATURE, of which he understood so  
little.

This motion of inquiry, like all the preceding ones, was resisted and over-ruled. Mr. Dundas maintained, that the expedition in question had been eminently successful: the *first* object of it was to rescue the United Provinces from the tyranny of France, and to accomplish the eventual restoration of the stadholder; the *second*, to diminish the efficient force of the enemy, by gaining possession of the Dutch fleet; and the *third*, by a powerful invasion on the coast of Holland to divert the pursuits and disconcert the plans of the foe in other quarters: and two of these objects, he contended, had been effec-  
tually obtained.

Mr. Sheridan, in reply, exposed the incompa-  
tibility of these pretences. "If the object of the

expedition was to restore the stadholder, it could not be a branch of the same project to rob him of his fleet." As for the diversion, of which the advantage was so much boasted, Mr. Sheridan observed, that "Holland was a country beyond all others the worst calculated for any such purpose; for the very nature of it enabled an inferior body of troops successfully to resist a very superior enemy. In this case, having landed a mighty force, we had been baffled in all our designs by the inferior numbers of the adversary; and, escaping back with difficulty, and after sustaining great loss, we were now told that the expedition was successful, being designed by the planners of it merely for a DIVERSION!" The house at length divided—for the motion, 216; against it, 45.

On the 12th of February, the house being in a committee of supply, 192,000 men were voted for the land service of the year, together with 120,000 seamen and marines; the expense of maintaining which, including the ordnance and plantation service, amounted to upwards of twenty-six millions; and, together with a vote of credit for three millions, exchequer-bills three millions, subsidies and extraordinary services, made the whole supply voted, little less than forty millions.

The ways and means were, in the first place, a loan of 18,500,000*l.* of which 13,500,000*l.* were

B O O K to be charged upon the income-tax, already  
XXXIII. loaded with the several sums of eight and eleven  
1800. millions, for the interest and principal of which  
it stood deeply mortgaged.

The next resource was the produce of the income-tax for the year, now reduced, according to Mr. Pitt's own calculation (deducting the sum of 1,700,000*l.* for the interest due on a capital of thirty-two millions and a half funded on the credit of it, and converted into fifty-six millions three per cent. annuities), to 5,300,000*l.*, or, in other words, about half its original estimate. The consolidated fund he reckoned at about four millions and a half: land-tax, malt-tax, lottery, and tax upon imports and exports, about four millions; exchequer-bills, three millions; an advance of three millions, bearing no interest for six years, from the bank, as a premium for the renewal of the charter for a term of twenty-one years; and other incidental sources of revenue, made up the deficiency.

For every 100*l.* paid into the exchequer, the subscribers to the loan agreed to accept 157*l.* three per cent. stock, which had so far recovered from its late excessive depression. But the present novel plan of supply was in this view most alarming, that a tax beyond all example of former times despotic and oppressive, must, on the system now adopted, inevitably be rendered per-

petual. This, however, was not all: for, after <sup>BOOK</sup>  
<sup>XXXIII.</sup> the first ten per cent. of the national income was <sup>1800.</sup>  
mortgaged to the utmost value, which would  
quickly be the case, nothing better could be  
hoped from the daring improvidence of the pre-  
sent minister, than the imposition, and conse-  
quent mortgage, in the same manner, of a second  
and third ten per cent.; and thus, in succession,  
till the government had absorbed not only all  
the affluence of the country, but even the neces-  
sary means of subsistence. If the war must at  
all events continue, to raise ten millions within  
the year by war-taxes was a plan both noble  
and just; but to throw out such an idea by way  
of a LURE, and then to mortgage beyond any ra-  
tional prospect of redemption the taxes so im-  
posed, was a new and alarming species of political  
delinquency. Instead, however, of being roused  
to exertion, the house seemed, in consequence of  
the desperate situation to which the minister had  
reduced the affairs of the country, to take refuge  
in a state of stupefaction; and, to spare the un-  
grateful labor of thinking, they still resigned  
themselves and the nation implicitly (though  
confidence was no more) to the same disastrous  
direction. Mr. Tierney compared the extraor-  
dinary expedient of obtaining the sum of three  
millions by a renewal of the bank charter, of which  
twelve years were still unexpired, to raising money

~~BOOK~~ upon *post obits*; and Mr. Jolliffe complained bitterly of the deception practised upon the house <sup>XXXIII.</sup> ~~1800.~~ and the country, by a mode of procedure which inevitably led to a perpetuation of the income-tax.

~~Subsidy to the emperor.~~ On the 17th of February, Mr. Pitt moving for

an advance of 500,000*l.* to the emperor, it was opposed with great energy by Mr. Tierney; who conjured the house to recollect that the war had now continued seven years, at the expense of 200 millions, on the pretext of its being just and necessary. Just it could not be, if the object of it was to force upon the French nation the restoration of the Bourbons; nor necessary, because we had refused to negotiate when the opportunity was presented to us. If this sum were granted, much larger demands would follow; and thus we were to lavish our blood and treasure in a cause for which no one plain, satisfactory, intelligible reason could be assigned, and he defied the minister to name it.

Mr. Pitt rose, and declared that he found no difficulty in stating the object of the war in a single sentence, nay, even in a single word—SECURITY. It was also more than this: it was security against a danger the greatest that had ever threatened the world: a danger which never existed before in any period of society; which had been felt and resisted by all the nations of

Europe, but by none so successfully and uniformly as our own. Our resistance had not been confined to external force, it had joined internal policy and wise legislative measures, to oppose jacobinism in the bosom (he was sorry to have found it there) of our own country. How was it discovered that jacobinism had disappeared in France? It was now centred in one man, nursed in its school, who had gained celebrity under its auspices, and was at once the CHILD and the CHAMPION of its atrocities—**BONAPARTE**. Our security in negotiation was to be this man, who was at the present moment the organ of all that was destructive in the revolution. Granting that two hundred millions had been expended for the words “just and necessary,” they had been expended for the best of causes—to protect the dearest rights, to defend the most valuable privileges,—the laws, the liberties, the happiness of our country; and, for such objects, as much more would we spend, and as much more could we find.

Mr. Tierney replied, that security was the watch-word with ministers; and the object of the war was now almost openly avowed to be the restoration of Gallic royalty. The estates of those whose ancestors had placed the present family on the British throne, were to be taken from them in order to reinstate the Bourbons in the possession of the crown of France.

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1800. Sir William Pulteney declared, that the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures had been dissatisfaction to his mind. Could any one pronounce what the effect of that negotiation might have been? Perhaps the French would have given up Belgium. As to the restoration of the Bourbons, he totally reprobated the idea. He feared that ministers were very defective in their information, taking their reports from persons who were exiled from their country, and biassed in their judgements. He lamented our refusal to listen to the proposals of Bonaparte, as a great error in administration; and as he considered the measure before the house as a part of the same system, he must vote against it.

After a vehement debate, the question was put, and carried by the usual majority.

Habeas-corpus act again suspended. On the annual motion for the renewal of the habeas-corpus suspension act in the course of this month, a warm debate ensued; and it was declared by Mr. Sheridan to be better to repeal the habeas-corpus act at once, than thus insidiously to undermine it. No conspiracy, as ministers well knew, at this time existed; and it was monstrous, that persons should be confined for so many years without being brought to trial, or scarcely knowing of what they were accused.

Sir Francis Burdett said, he had not language to express his feelings on these repeated suspen-

sions of the habeas corpus. When that act was removed, little difference was left between our own and any other government. He solemnly protested his belief, that ministers were afraid to bring the persons accused, to trial. He affirmed, that, so far as he could judge, their innocence was their crime ; and who, he asked, could doubt of their being brought to trial, if any traitorous design could be proved against them? He demanded a trial for them ; and enforced this natural claim of justice, by relating to the house divers horrid abuses of power, which to his own knowledge had been committed under the suspension.— “ What,” exclaimed this ardent patriot, “ would the immortal Chatham have said, on the recital of such oppression? The thunder of his eloquence would have shaken the house. In his estimation, the cottage of the peasant was as sacred as the palace of the king. He would have raised a storm, from which ministers would gladly have screened their heads.”

The motion being carried, the debate was revived on a following day with increase of indignation. Mr. Jolliffe complained, that all who differed from the minister were branded as jacobins ; and that country gentlemen, exerting themselves for the good of their constituents, met from his hands with treatment the most illiberal. He never would consent that a bill of this high

BOOK  
XXXIII.  
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BOOK and momentous import, should, like the mutiny  
XXXIII. or land-tax bill, be suffered to pass as a matter of  
1800. course ; and, in conclusion, he moved a postponement of the second reading for six weeks, for the purpose of receiving such information from ministers as might justify the measure. Mr. Hobhouse, in allusion to the case of colonel Despard, asked whether this was proper treatment, he would not say for a gentleman of rank in the army, but for any person unconvicted, untried ? To grasp at illegitimate power by a system of terror, had been the leading feature of the present administration. Even that dangerous degree of authority vested in ministers by this and former bills similar in their nature, had been exceeded. These bills conferred no power of commitment without previous information upon oath, though it afterwards deprived the person so committed of the privilege of habeas corpus ; but in fact, many had been sent to prison on a mere warrant of the privy-council, and a bill of INDEMNITY would one day be found necessary to screen these violators of the law from the punishment they so justly merited.

In the house of lords this measure was again vigorously opposed, by the lords King and Holland ; but it finally passed both houses by great and decided majorities.

Towards the end of March, Mr. Dundas

stated, in a committee of the whole house, in <sup>BOOK</sup> magnificent language as usual, the wonderfully <sup>XXXIII.</sup> prosperous condition of the East-India company. He admitted the increase of debts and the decrease of *assets* in India and China to the amount of 2,700,000*l.*; but the increase of *assets* and the decrease of debt in Europe he computed at about 3,800,000*l.*; so that the company had gained, upon the balance, a million and upwards, in the course of the year: *but the charges of the late war were not yet ascertained!*

Mr. Tierney, on the 5th of June, moved for leave to bring in a bill repealing the tax upon income from and after the 5th of April of the ensuing year. This gentleman declared, that, odious and oppressive as the tax upon income was, he would not, from the urgent necessity of circumstances, object to its being continued from year to year during the war; but that, as a war-tax, its operation ought to be temporary, and that it should be annually voted. To the principle of raising a large sum within the year, he readily acceded; but he was of opinion that less arbitrary means might be devised for carrying that plan into effect, than either of the two projects which had been recommended by the chancellor of the exchequer, and which had both proved miserably deficient in their expected products, grounded upon the estimates of the minister. The motion was negatived, after

Statement  
of the af-  
fairs of un-  
dia.

BOOK a debate of some length, by 104 to 24  
XXXIII. voices.

1800.  
Project of  
union re-  
vived.

The virtual rejection of the Irish parliament, during the last session, of the overture made by Great Britain towards the accomplishment of a legislative and incorporative union of the two kingdoms, would have sufficed to deter a less daring and persevering minister than Mr. Pitt, from the prosecution of so great and difficult a project; but, whether right or wrong, it was the characteristic of his genius to arm and fortify itself against all resistance, to contemn all obstacles, and to defy all opposition. From the manner in which the business was resumed in the English parliament subsequent to its dismission by the Irish house of commons, and especially from the strong and explicit terms in which this great measure was recommended by the lord-lieutenant of Ireland at the close of the last session, it was fully apparent that the whole weight and influence of government would be exerted during the present session, to effect this grand, and in the general opinion highly beneficial, purpose. Of the means which were employed in the course of the recess to facilitate the intended arrangement, future historians may be better enabled to speak. The conciliatory policy of the lord-lieutenant—the guarded, and even respectful, demeanor in relation to Ireland which on this occa-

sion marked the conduct of the English administration—the real and solid advantages of the measure proposed—the equity of the conditions offered—the conviction produced in the minds of many, by recent events, that the continuance of the old system tended only to the perpetuation of discord, oppression, and misery—all concurred and co-operated with the private and separate interests of numerous and powerful individuals to the final success of this arduous attempt, opposed and impeded as it was by the most formidable obstacles.

On the 15th of January, 1800, the Irish parliament met at Dublin. In the speech delivered by lord Cornwallis on that occasion, he made no allusion to the project in contemplation. As it was, however, well known that it would at a very early period be revived, a resolution was taken, by the members in the contrary interest, to oppose it *in limine*; and when the address of thanks was proposed by lord Loftus, sir Lawrence Parsons moved an amendment, annexing to the wish of perpetuating a constitutional connexion with Great Britain, an equal solicitude for the preservation of an independent resident parliament. A violent debate ensued, which was rendered very memorable by a most able and ardent speech of Mr. Grattan, who supported the amendment with all the powers of his su-

Meeting of  
the Irish  
parlia-  
ment,  
Jan. 1800.

~~BOOK XXXIII.~~ perior talents and eloquence. In the first part of  
~~1800.~~ this elaborate harangue, he endeavoured to prove  
Eloquent speech of Mr. Grattan.  
that the final adjustment of 1782 excluded the idea of any ulterior arrangement ; and he absolutely denied the competency of parliament to annihilate its own existence. The incompatibility of independent legislatures in the same empire, had been, he affirmed, the doctrine which lost America ; and an imperial parliament was once more to take its bloody station in the pages of the minister. “ How strange were the ideas which the minister entertained of the functions of an Irish parliament !—it was incompetent to regulate the commerce of the country—it was omnipotent to overturn her constitution ; it was inadequate to protect—almighty only to subvert and destroy. To rely upon the case of the regency as an argument in favor of the union, was, Mr. Grattan said, unpardonable in the British minister, who alone had created the difficulty, by his broad and unqualified declaration that the parliaments of both countries had a right to supply, at their discretion, the defect in the executive power ; in other words, that each might establish a temporary republic. Ireland refused to be guided by these principles of democracy, and displayed her fidelity and attachment to monarchy, by transferring the executive power entire to the next heir. The perplexity and danger arose from the

deviation of the minister from this straight-forward path of safety.

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“ The constitution which he is now attempting to destroy, is one of the pillars of the empire; dear from its violation—dear in its recovery. Its restoration cost Ireland her noblest efforts. It is the habitation of her loyalty, as well as of her liberty; her temple of fame, as well as of freedom. But the field of imagination was that in which the British minister delighted to rove; and by holding out visionary prospects and promises, he hoped ultimately to accomplish his designs. Where, indeed, he is to extinguish our power of legislation, to abrogate our highest court of judicature, to extort from us, by a financial agreement, a perpetual tribute, he is altogether a matter-of-fact man: but when he is to provide a compensation for all this prodigality of concession, then he becomes wholly poetic and prophetic; Fancy gives him her wand—Amalthea takes him by the hand—Ceres follows in his train: the English capitalist and manufacturer will leave his mines, his machinery, his comforts, and his habits; he will conquer his prejudices and prepossessions, and come over to Ireland with a generous design to give her commerce for her lost constitution. A man who reasons, may be answered by reasoning; but the minister in all this does not argue, but foretel: now you cannot

BOOK confute a prophet—you can only disbelieve him.  
XXXIII.

It forms the genuine harmony of the state, when  
1800. the rich encourage and employ the poor, and the  
poor with confidence look up to the watchful  
care and guardian protection of the rich; both  
concurring to the same end, form that grand  
column of society, ‘where all below is strength,  
and all above is grace.’ How does the minister’s  
plan accomplish this? he takes away our gentle-  
men and nobles, and supplies their place by  
English factors and commercial adventurers.

This minister proposes to you to give up the  
ancient inheritance of your country—to pro-  
claim an utter incapacity to make laws for your  
own people;—and is this no attack upon the ho-  
nor and dignity of the kingdom? The thing  
which he proposes to buy, cannot be sold—LI-  
BERTY! and his propositions are built upon no-  
thing but your dishonor. I have heard of par-  
liaments impeaching ministers, but here is a  
minister who impeaches parliament; nay, the  
parliamentary constitution itself: and he pro-  
poses to you to substitute the British parliament  
in your place; to destroy the body which restored  
your liberties, and to restore that body which  
destroyed them. Against such a proposition,  
were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to  
utter my last breath, and to record my dying  
testimony.”

This brilliant declamation was answered, in a <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 speech less eloquent than argumentative, by the <sup>XXXIII.</sup>  
 new chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Corry; and <sup>1800.</sup>  
 the debate was prolonged till ten the next morn-  
 ing, when there appeared to be 96 votes only  
 in favor of the amendment, to 138 who sup-  
 ported the address in its original form.

On the 5th of February, a message from the <sup>Message</sup>  
 lord-lieutenant was delivered to each house of <sup>from</sup>  
 parliament, intimating the king's desire that the <sup>the lord-</sup>  
 resolutions passed by the parliament of Great <sup>lieutenant</sup>  
 Britain should be submitted to the attentive <sup>recom-</sup>  
 consideration of the Irish legislature; and ex- <sup>mendatory</sup>  
 pressing his hope that the great object to which <sup>of a</sup>  
 they related, might be matured and completed <sup>union.</sup>  
 by the wisdom of the two parliaments, and the  
 loyal concurrence of the people. On this great  
 occasion, the secretary of state, lord Castlereagh,  
 to whose able management the business was  
 entrusted, arose, and in a well-digested speech  
 entered into a very comprehensive view of the  
 measure proposed, recommending it by argu-  
 ments analogous to those of Mr. Pitt and other  
 advocates of the union in the British parliament.  
 On the other hand, those arguments were con-  
 tested, with at least equal ability, by the principal  
 leaders of the opposition.

Mr. Grattan declared, that the end and design —Violent  
 of the measure was no less than to restore the <sup>debates on</sup> <sup>the subject.</sup>

BOOK XXXIII. domination of the British parliament, which had abdicated Ireland, and to depose the Irish parliament, which had saved her; but that, in the prosecution of this plan, the minister had gigantic difficulties to encounter. It was incumbent upon him to explain away the tyrannic acts of a century; to apologise for the lawless and oppressive proceedings of England, which had counteracted the bounty of Providence towards Ireland, and had kept her in a state of thralldom and misery. He again denied the competence of parliament to assent to an act which would involve in it the surrender of the constitution. Parliament exercised only a delegated authority, and had no right to assign over what it held merely in trust for the community. This, he said, was the doctrine of Hooker, Locke, and Grotius. Mr. Pitt, however, thought differently; and he who denied to France the right to alter her government, maintains the omnipotence of the parliament of this country to annul the constitution of Ireland.

Mr. Corry in reply observed, that in every constitution a power must subsist for the correction of the evils incident to human policy; that this must be the supreme power of the state; and that in our constitution the parliament had this remedial authority, because the exercise of it by the people at large was impracticable.

That a social compact paramount to the constitution really existed, he did not believe; and the propagators of such a notion, he said, ought to state when or by whom the agreement was adjusted, where it was deposited or *recorded*, and by what means and on what occasions it was to supercede the authority of parliament. In the case of the Scottish union, he contended that no special authority had been given to the northern parliament, and that it was fully competent to accomplish that transaction without any such extraordinary delegation.

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Mr. Saurin, father of the Irish bar, maintained, with Mr. Grattan, the existence of a compact between the government and the people, which, he said, was to be found *recorded* in the breast of every honest senator; and he trusted that every member would seriously reflect on the duties implied in it. The trustees of the people had no right to destroy that which they were delegated to preserve.—On moving the first resolution, after a vehement debate, the numbers were in favor of the court 158, against it 115. The tumults of the populace of Dublin were upon this occasion very alarming; and a military guard of cavalry was found necessary to preserve the parliamentary advocates of the union from personal insult and violence.

On the 10th of February, the business was

BOOK once more introduced into the house of peers  
XXXIII. by the earl of Clare, late lord Fitzgibbon, chancellor  
1800. of Ireland, in a speech of extraordinary ability, and, in certain points of view, of distinguished excellence; but contaminated by a wretched spirit of bigotry and malignity, and abounding with personalities unknown to the dignified and decorous proceedings of the British house of peers, and which it would pollute the page of history to notice. On moving the first resolution, this nobleman declared himself "satisfied in his judgement and conscience, from an attentive observation of what had passed in Ireland for the last twenty years, that the existence of her independent parliament had gradually led to her recent and bitter calamities." And he avowed that he had, for the preceding seven years, pressed upon ministers the urgent necessity of union, as the last remaining resource to preserve this country to the British crown. The noble earl then entered into an historical deduction of the political connexion subsisting between the two countries from the æra of the invasion of Henry II. The first English settlements in Ireland he truly affirmed to have been merely colonial; and for centuries the English pale was not extended beyond its original limits. So late as the reign of Henry VIII. it consisted of four counties only. The com-

Able speech of the lord-chancellor.

mon observation of the country was, that they who dwelt by west of the river Barrow, dwelt by west of the law.

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“The early policy of the English government certainly was to discourage all connexion of the colony with the native Irish. The statute of Kilkenny, enacted by the provincial assembly of the pale, in the reign of Edward III., prohibited marriage or *gossiped* with the Irishry, or claiming the benefit of the Brehon law by any person of English blood, under the penalties of treason. Thus the colony of the pale was implicated in ceaseless warfare, not only with the native Irish, but with every person of English blood who had settled beyond its limits. The taunting answer of Maguire, chief of Fermanagh, to the lord deputy, who applied to him to receive a sheriff commissioned by Henry VIII., sufficiently explains the state of the country, and the authority of the king’s government in it. ‘Your sheriff shall be welcome to me; but, if he come, send me his *eric*) the price of his head), that, if my people slay him, I may fine them accordingly.’—Queen Elizabeth, after a difficult and bloody war of seven years, effected the complete reduction of the island; and the accession of James I. was the true æra of national connexion. Then, for the first time, was the spirit of resistance to the English power

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1800. broken down, and the English laws universally acknowledged. The old proprietors, who had led the revolt, were expelled and replaced by a new set of adventurers from England and Scotland, all protestants, who, with a new religion, brought over with them a new source of contention with the inhabitants.

"The distinction of Englishry and Irishry had been nearly superceded in the time of Elizabeth by a new schism of protestant and papist; but, from the first introduction of this protestant colony by James I., the old distinctions of native Irish and degenerate English, and English of blood and English of birth, were lost and forgotten; all rallied from that time round the banner of the popish faith; and from that day all have clung to the popish religion, as a common bond of union, and an hereditary pledge of animosity to British settlers and the British nation. The physical consequence of the country was arrayed against the British colony and the English government: the king was therefore driven to the necessity of fortifying his protestant colony, by investing them exclusively with the artificial power of a separate government, which, on every principle of self-interest and self-preservation, they were bound to administer in concert with England. The steady government of Strafford kept down those animosi-

ties, which had continued with unabated rancor <sup>BOOK</sup> till his time: but, at his removal, the old inhabitants, taking advantage of the weakness and distraction of the English government, broke out into open hostility and rebellion. After a fierce and bloody contest of eleven years, in which the face of the whole island was desolated, the insurgents were subdued, and suffered all the calamities which could be inflicted on the vanquished party. The possessions of the ancient proprietors were seized and given up to the conquerors, or distributed among the adventurers who had advanced money to defray the expenses of the war. Thus, a new colony of settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England—many of them infected with the leaven of democracy—poured into Ireland, and were put into possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants. After the expulsion of James II. from the throne, the Irish Romanists made another effort for the recovery of their long-lost power, in which they were once more defeated by an English army; and the relics of Irish property became the subject of fresh confiscation. The situation, therefore, of the Irish nation at the revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the world. If the wars of England, carried on here from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inha-

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BOOK XXXIII. inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilised nations, and 1800. their country have been annexed as a province to the British empire. But the continued and persevering resistance of Ireland to the British crown, during the whole of the last century, was mere rebellion; and the municipal law of England attached to the crime. What, then, was the situation of Ireland at the revolution? and what is it at this day? The whole power and property of the country has been conferred by successive monarchs of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of English adventurers, who poured into this country at the termination of three successive rebellions. Confiscation is their common title; and from their first settlement they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants, brooding over their discontents in sullen indignation. What, then, was the security of the English settlers for their physical existence at the revolution? and what is the security of their descendants at this day?—the powerful and commanding protection of Great Britain. If, by any fatality, this fails, you are at the mercy of the old inhabitants of the island.”—Having deduced from these considerations, in a manner very convincing, the urgent political necessity of a legislative and incorporative union, his lordship adverted to

what had so often been styled the final adjustment of 1782; and demonstrated, incontrovertibly, that the adjustment in question was not considered, even at the period when it took place, as a transaction which in any manner precluded an ulterior arrangement. On the contrary, it appeared that the duke of Portland, lord-lieutenant, in concert with the then English ministers, lord Rockingham, lord Shelburne, and Mr. Fox, had it in contemplation to bring forward an act, to be adopted by the legislatures of both kingdoms, by which the superintending power and supremacy of Great Britain, in all matters of state and general commerce, should be virtually and effectually acknowledged. The marquis of Rockingham himself, on the 25th of May (1782), thus writes to the lord-lieutenant: "The essential points on the part of Ireland now acceded to, will, I trust, establish a perfect cordiality between the two countries; and, as there cannot now exist any ground of contest or jealousy between them on matters of right, the only object left for both will be how finally to arrange, settle, and adjust all matters whereby the union of power, strength, and mutual and reciprocal advantage will be best permanently fixed." This design was relinquished merely and solely from the apprehended inability of government to carry it into effect. And

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BOOK on the 22d of June the duke of Portland de-  
XXXIII. clares to lord Shelburne, "the disappointment  
1800. and mortification he suffered by the unexpected  
change in those dispositions which had autho-  
rised him to entertain the hopes he had perhaps  
too sanguinely expressed."—"But," said this able  
orator, "admitting, in contradiction to these  
*damning proofs*, that this was considered by  
both countries as a final adjustment, if practice  
and experience have proved that it has sown  
the seeds of ceaseless contention and periodical  
rebellion, is there a principle of sound policy or  
common sense to preclude a revision of it? We  
acknowledge the dependence of the crown of  
Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain. But  
there is a distinct parliament in each country,  
exercising all legislative functions without re-  
striction, not only in respect of municipal regu-  
lations, but in every branch of imperial policy.  
Between two countries equal in power such a  
connexion could not subsist for an hour; and  
therefore its existence must depend upon the  
admitted inferiority and marked subordination  
of one of them. Ireland is that inferior coun-  
try; and call her constitution by what high-  
sounding title you please, hers must be a pro-  
vincial government of the worst description—a  
government maintained, not by the avowed ex-  
ercise of legitimate authority, but by a perma-

inent and commanding influence of the English <sup>BOOK</sup> executive, or rather of the English cabinet, in <sup>XXXIII.</sup> the councils of Ireland, as a substitute for it. <sup>1800.</sup> Such a connexion is calculated to generate national discontent and jealousy, and to perpetuate faction and misgovernment in the inferior country. English influence is the inexhaustible theme for popular irritation and distrust of every factious demagogue who fails in the struggle to make himself the necessary instrument of it.—With respect to the old code of popery laws, there cannot be a doubt that it ought to have been repealed. It was impossible that any country could continue to exist under a code by which a majority of the inhabitants were cut off from the rights of property. But in the relaxation of these laws there was a fatal error. It should have been taken up systematically by the ministers of the crown, and not left in the hands of every individual who chose to take possession of it as an engine of power or popularity. If the catholics of Ireland are not satisfied with the indulgence which they have already experienced, let their further claims be discussed upon their solid merits in the imperial parliament, where the question will not be influenced by passion and prejudice; and where it will be gravely considered whether they may be yielded with safety to the British mo-

BOOK narchy. My unaltered opinion is, that, so long  
as human nature and the popish religion con-  
1800. ~~XXXIII.~~ tinue to be what I know they are, a conscientious popish ecclesiastic never will become a well-attached subject to a protestant state ; and that the popish clergy must always have a commanding influence on every member of that communion.—It is, I know, said by some, ‘ Let the British minister leave us to ourselves, and we are very well as we are.’ Very well as we are ! Gracious God ! of what materials must the heart of that man be, who knows the state of this country, and will coldly tell us we are very well as we are ! We have not three years’ certain redemption from bankruptcy, nor one hour’s security against the renewal of exterminating civil war. Session after session have you been compelled to enact laws of unexampled rigor and novelty, to repress the horrible excesses of the great mass of your people ; and the fury of murder, and pillage, and desolation, have so out-run all legislative exertion, that you have been at length driven to the hard necessity of breaking down the pale of the municipal law, and putting your country under the ban of military government. Look to your civil and religious dissensions, to the rage of political faction, and the torrents of human blood that stain the face of the land, and where

is the man who will not listen with complacency <sup>BOOK</sup> <sup>XXXIII.</sup> to any propositions that can be made to him for <sup>1800.</sup> composing the distractions and alleviating the miseries of this devoted country?"—The noble speaker then proceeded to the enumeration of those blessings which might reasonably be expected from a perfect union with Great Britain. "By union, the resources of Ireland must necessarily increase; by union, Ireland will participate in British capital and British industry; and until we can find employment for our poor, and teach them to feel and value the comforts of life, it is in vain to expect that they will be reclaimed from barbarism. If you do not qualify the mass of your people for the enjoyment of sober liberty, you will never teach them to appreciate the blessings of it. But we are told, that, by giving up our separate government and separate parliament, we sacrifice national dignity and independence. When I look at the squalid misery, and profound ignorance, and barbarous manners, and brutal ferocity, of the mass of the Irish people, I am sickened at this rant of Irish dignity and independence. Does the dignity of Ireland consist in the depression of the people and the exaltation of a factious and rapacious oligarchy, who consider the Irish nation as their political inheritance? I wish to withdraw the higher orders of my countrymen from the nar-

BOOK row and corrupted sphere of Irish politics, and to  
XXXIII. direct their attention to objects of national im-  
1800. portance ; to teach them to improve the natural  
energies, and extend the resources, of their coun-  
try—above all, seriously to exert their best en-  
deavours to civilise the lower orders of the  
people ; to inculcate in them habits of religion,  
and morality, and industry, and due subordina-  
tion ; to relieve their wants, and correct their ex-  
cesses. Unless you will civilise your people, it  
is in vain to look for national tranquillity and  
contentment.—But you are told that a union  
will drive the nobility and gentry of Ireland from  
their own country. Look to the number of Irish  
emigrants who now crowd every village in Great  
Britain, and have been driven to seek an asylum  
there from the brutal fury of the Irish people,  
from Irish faction and Irish treason, and then  
say whether the evil of emigration can ever be  
greater than it is at this day. If we are to live  
in a perpetual storm here, what gentleman, who  
has the means of living out of this country, will  
be induced to remain in it ? I do most solemnly  
declare, that no earthly consideration, short of  
a strong sense of duty, should have induced *me*  
to remain an eye-witness of the scenes of folly  
and madness, and horrors of every description,  
in which I have lived for some years back ; and  
that I had rather give up every prospect which

remains to me in this country, and begin a new ~~course~~<sup>B O O K</sup> in my old age; than submit to the same ~~course~~<sup>XXXIII.</sup> misery and disgust for the remnant of my life. 1800.  
If you wish to stop emigration, you must enable sober and rational men to live in peace at home. It is with cordial sincerity, and a full conviction that an entire and perfect union with Great Britain will give to this my native country lasting peace, and security for her religion, her laws, her liberty, and her property ; an increase of strength, riches, and trade ; and the final extinction of national jealousy and animosity ; that I now propose that important measure to this grave assembly for their adoption. If I live to see it completed, to my latest hour I shall feel an honorable pride in the share which I may have in contributing to effect it."

No peer in opposition ventured on this occasion formally to enter the lists against this redoubtable orator. The lords Dillon, Powerscourt, Farnham, and Bellamont, however, declared in successive speeches their disapprobation of the measure ; which was defended by the law-lords Carleton and Kilwarden, and various other peers : after which, the question upon the first resolution was put, and passed the house by a majority of seventy-five to twenty-six voices.

The succeeding resolutions were in the course of a few weeks carried through this house

BOOK with the same or greater facility. The discussion of the fourth resolution, upon the 22d of March, 1800, was signalised by a masterly speech of the lord chief-baron Yelverton, whose characteristic liberality had happily preserved him throughout the late scenes of distraction from the disgrace of perverting his talents to serve the purposes of any party. "The great value of the arrangement of 1782, which he had assisted in forming," his lordship said, "was, that it placed the Irish on a proud footing of national and legislative independence, and enabled them to say upon what terms they were willing to unite; whereas, if that adjustment had not occurred, they would, perhaps before this time, have yielded to an union of subjection, not an union of equality. Their independence had never since been violated; and they were not now desired to give up their legislative rights, but to perpetuate them by union. Their liberties would not be annihilated, but would be rendered immortal, by being placed on the same broad base with those of Great Britain. The Hibernian parliament would so far be annihilated as to be no longer a distinct legislature; and so would that of Great Britain also; but out of the two a third would arise, neither British nor Irish, but a compound body, more competent than either to promote and secure

the freedom, the prosperity, and the happiness of the whole. If an idle fondness for independence had prevailed from the beginning, no political association could have been framed, and mankind must have remained in a state of nature. But prudence and policy taught two or more families to form a society, societies to form a nation, and small nations to form a great one, by sacrificing distinct independence to common security. The condition of Ireland was miserable when it was divided into petty principalities inflamed with the pride of independence: disorder and dissension prevailed; and scenes of rapine and bloodshed were deplorably frequent: but such a state was not peculiar to Ireland, being general among petty dynasties. In the opinion of some politicians, the existing federal alliance between Great Britain and Ireland might be made to operate as a sufficient remedy for all the disorders of this country. But the history of the world proves the inadequacy of federal connexion to the purposes of real union; for the jealousy of the weaker state would always prompt it to separate itself from the stronger. An incorporative union could alone prevent the effects of this jealousy." His lordship asserted the perfect competence of the two parliaments to enact the proposed measure, if conducive to the welfare and happiness of the two nations.

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BOOK XXXIII. To doubt the competency of the two legislatures to frame such a law, was to doubt their competency to answer the ends of their institution.

1800. 1800.

The question was then put, and carried by a great majority, that twenty-eight temporal and four spiritual peers should represent Ireland in the imperial parliament; with an amendment, importing that, on the extinction of three Irish peerages, one might be created, till the number was reduced to a hundred, and afterwards one for every failure.

In the course of these debates three different protests, drawn with vigor and ability, were entered upon the journals of the house, signed by the duke of Leinster, the marquis of Downshire, the lords Percy and Moira, the bishop of Down, and about twenty other peers, expressive of their highest indignation at these proceedings.

On the 17th of February, the house of commons being in a general committee, Mr. Corry, chancellor of the exchequer, made an able speech in vindication of the measure, blended however, agreeably to the too frequent custom of the Irish parliament, with virulent party and personal reflexions. Mr. Grattan retorting in high and bitter language, a vehement altercation arose, which was, in the sequel, productive of a challenge from the chancellor of the ex-

chequer to that gentleman; and a duel ensued, <sup>BOOK</sup> in which Mr. Corry was wounded, though not <sup>XXXIII.</sup> dangerously. <sup>1800.</sup>

In the same debate general Hutchinson offered to the house some excellent observations. "The co-equality of the parliament of Ireland," he affirmed, "with that of Great Britain, was a dream of fancy which would never be realised. Any attempt to make a practical use of their independence would expose the subsisting connexion with Britain to the risk of dissolution. Surely it would be better to be a component part of a free and flourishing empire, than to be a weak and petty state, convulsed with faction, or the deluded victim of treacherous allies. What is property without security? What is liberty when life is in danger, and when the house of a country-gentleman must be either his garrison or his tomb? All the arguments which he had heard against the union were addresses to the pride, the passions, or the prejudices of an irritable nation, more accustomed to act from the impulse of quick feelings than from the dictates of sound discretion and sober reason. He admitted the necessity of preserving a sense of national dignity: it was the source of all pre-eminence, of all power, strength, and greatness. He considered this high sense of dignity as a noble

BOOK XXXIII. passion, and wished it to rest upon a rational foundation. For the last six centuries Ireland  
1800. had exhibited the melancholy picture of savage acrimony, barbarous discord; of a parliament fearless of the people, from whom it did not derive its origin; a triumphant aristocracy; and a government the most arbitrary and oppressive of any in Europe. Under such a mode of administration it was impossible to hope for love to the laws, zeal for the constitution, or attachment to the government. That pure and unsullied allegiance which is the vital principle of states, can only be expected by a good and beneficent government from a happy and contented people."

After a debate no less vehement than any of the former, the question of adjournment was put and negatived; and the 1st of January following fixed as the æra whence the union of the two kingdoms was to date its commencement. From this period the debates, referring merely to the details of the treaty, cease to be the proper topics of general history. The last great effort on the part of the opposition was made on the 13th of March, when sir John Parnell moved that the king should be requested to convoke a new parliament before any final arrangement of union should be adopted. And sir Laurence Parsons, arguing in support of the motion, declared, "that, sensible as he was of the great

influence of the crown in the choice of members, <sup>B O O K</sup>  
 he was nevertheless willing to put the fate of the <sup>XXXIII.</sup>  
 question on the election of a new parliament. The <sup>1800.</sup>  
 venerable Saurin, also, on the same side, urged  
 the expediency of attending to the sense of the  
 nation ; and, in the spirit of Somers and Locke,  
 he maintained that if laws should be enacted in  
 opposition to the public will constitutionally ex-  
 pressed, they would not be obligatory, and the  
 right of resistance would revert to the people.  
 The solicitor-general, rising in the warmth of  
 passion, accused the father of the bar of unfurling  
 the bloody flag of rebellion : however, Mr. Egan  
 not only vindicated the expression, but retorted  
 the accusation, by charging the ministry with  
 unfurling the flag of prostitution and corruption.  
 On the division, there appeared 104 voices for  
 the motion, against 150 who opposed it. On <sup>Address</sup>  
 the 27th of March, the whole business being <sup>from the</sup>  
 completed, lord Castlereagh moved an address <sup>Irish par-</sup>  
 to his majesty from the commons, declaratory of <sup>liaiment,</sup>  
 their approbation of the resolutions transmitted <sup>signifying</sup>  
 to them, " which they considered as wisely cal-  
 culated to form the basis of a complete and <sup>their assent</sup>  
 entire union of the two legislatures : that by <sup>to the reso-</sup>  
 those propositions they had been guided in their <sup>lutions—</sup>  
 proceedings ; and that the resolutions now  
 offered were those articles which, if approved by  
 the lords and commons of Great Britain, they

BOOK XXXIII. were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that  
the same might be established for ever by the  
mutual consent of both parliaments." This ad-  
dress being agreed to by the two houses, was  
immediately transmitted by marquis Cornwallis,  
the lord-lieutenant, to England.

—Communicated to  
the British  
legislature.

On the 2d of April the duke of Portland in-  
formed the British house of peers, by message  
from the king, " that it was with the most sin-  
cere satisfaction his majesty found himself ena-  
bled to communicate to this house the joint ad-  
dress of his lords and commons of Ireland,  
laying before his majesty certain resolutions  
which contain the terms proposed by them for  
an entire union between the two kingdoms.  
His majesty, therefore, earnestly recommended  
to the house to take all such further steps as  
might best tend to the speedy and complete  
execution of a work so happily begun, and so  
interesting to the security of his majesty's sub-  
jects, and to the general strength and prosperity  
of the British empire."

Proceed-  
ings there-  
upon.

An address of thanks having been returned, the  
papers were taken into consideration on the  
21st of the same month; when lord Holland  
made an animated speech against the principle  
of the union; in which his lordship went over  
all the popular topics of opposition to the mea-  
sure with considerable ability. He maintained

the sacrifices made by Ireland of her national rights to be very great, while the advantages to be expected were few and distant. His lordship affirmed that too much stress had been placed, in the course of the argument, upon the salutary effects which had resulted to Scotland from her union with England; but, without entering into the discussion whether the benefits of an increased commerce, an improved system of agriculture, an enlarged scale of manufacture, were derivable from that union or from other causes, it was sufficient to remark that forty years had elapsed before Scotland began to reap any of those essential benefits. He therefore maintained, that speculative ideas of distant advantages were but visionary and delusive, when set in competition with invaluable rights and the glory of independence. His lordship then adverted to the solemn assurance of ministers, "that, however desirable in their judgements the union of the two countries might appear, it ought not to be accepted unless it were the pure and spontaneous offer of the parliament of Ireland, uninfluenced by corruption or menace;"—appealing to the feelings of every individual whether it was doubted that corruption and intimidation had been practised to obtain a majority in both houses of the Irish parliament.

BOOK XXXIII. Lord Grenville expressed great surprise at being called upon that day to support a general principle which had been repeatedly, recently, and almost unanimously, recognised as constitutional by both houses of parliament. He challenged the noble lord to bring proof of the corruption and menace which he insinuated had been practised in order to obtain the assent of the Irish parliament; through the medium of which he sincerely believed that the people of Ireland had spoken their real sentiments respecting the proposed legislative union with Great Britain. He thought the noble lord had viewed the subject in a very narrow light with respect to the benefits derivable from the union. In looking at a matter of such magnitude, we were to consider, *first*, the immediate necessity which demanded it; and *next*, the ultimate benefit and security which would gradually arise from it to the whole extended empire. Whatever difference of opinion might exist respecting the present measure in other points of view, all must agree that the catholic claims would be best and most dispassionately discussed by an imperial parliament; and, moreover, that relief could more safely be granted by an imperial parliament than by a parliament of Ireland.

The objections of lord Holland being over-

ruled, the house went into a committee ; and the <sup>BOOK</sup> articles of the union, as framed by the Irish <sup>XXXIII.</sup> legislature, were severally discussed and agreed <sup>1800.</sup> to by the house, with very trivial alterations, or any memorable opposition.

In the house of commons the same spirit of general acquiescence prevailed. The business was opened on the 21st of April by Mr. Pitt, in a speech recapitulating with much ability the arguments in favor of a union, and defending the terms of the resolutions framed by the Irish parliament, which he proposed and recommended to the adoption of the house. Mr. Grey denied the concurrence of the Irish nation in the measure of a legislative union. On the contrary, he maintained that it was held in extreme and general abhorrence ; and no less than twenty-seven counties had petitioned against it. He thought there was little analogy between the union now in contemplation, and that with Scotland, either in respect to the relative circumstances of the two countries, or to the terms of the compact ; and he concluded by moving, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Irish union till the sentiments of the Irish people respecting that measure could be ascertained.

BOOK ~~XXXIII.~~ Lord Carysfort maintained the union to be wise, politic, and advantageous to both countries; and he said that there was unquestionably a great balance of the whole property of the Irish nation in favor of it.

1800. The fact seems to have been, that the landed property of the kingdom was generally favorable to the measure; that the commercial interest was much divided; and that the city of Dublin, which feared to be degraded to the rank of a provincial capital, was violent in its opposition to the union. The bulk of the kingdom, consisting of the catholics, sullenly acquiesced. They indulged a faint hope that their condition might eventually be bettered by it; and they were thoroughly persuaded that it could not, by any change whatever, be made worse.

The motion of Mr. Grey was negatived by a vast majority of 236 to 30 voices.

On the discussion of the fourth article, Mr. Pitt moved an important and necessary additional clause, importing that not more than twenty of the entire number of representatives returned by Ireland should hold any place or pension under the crown—those above the prescribed number who most lately received their office, being obliged to make their option between that and their seat.

On the 28th of April the house proceeded to

the consideration of the sixth article, respecting the fair participation of Ireland in commercial privileges; upon which occasion Mr. Law and Mr. Plumer appeared at the bar, as counsel for certain petitioners concerned in the woollen manufactures established in the north and west of England, who were filled with most alarming apprehensions at that part of the resolution which legalised the exportation of English wool in its raw state to Ireland. A capital of twenty millions, according to the statement made to the house, was engaged in the woollen trade; and if the resolution now proposed were to pass into a law, this immense property might be nearly annihilated. A great number of witnesses were examined in support of the allegations of the petition; and Mr. Wilberforce, as member for Yorkshire, expatiated largely on the pernicious consequences of permitting this proposed unlimited exportation. He allowed that to expect Ireland, as at present, to suffer the exportation of her wool to England, would be unreasonable, while that of English wool to Ireland was prohibited; but all that the English manufacturers asked was, that each country should henceforth enjoy the use of all the wool it might produce.

Mr. Pitt observed, that the radical policy of the union, so far as it regarded commerce, was to make the intercourse of the two countries,

BOOK with respect to raw materials, and the whole of  
the trade between all parts of the united kingdom,  
as free as possible: and the tenor of the  
evidence confirmed him in the opinion that no  
necessity existed for making the article of wool  
an exception to this general rule. He believed  
that the unrestrained and mutual intercourse of  
the two countries, in this as in all other respects,  
would be found equally beneficial to both.

On the division which took place in conse-  
quence of an amendment subsequently moved  
by Mr. Wilberforce, the numbers were, fifty-  
three only in its favor, against one hundred and  
fifty-three who gave their voices against it; and  
this was the greatest effort made on the part of  
those whose sentiments were hostile either to  
the general principle or to the specific terms of  
the union.

Early in May, the remaining articles having  
been severally investigated and approved by  
very decisive majorities, Mr. Pitt moved that an  
humble address be presented to his majesty, ac-  
quainting him that the house had proceeded  
through the great and important measure of a  
legislative union, which they had the satis-  
faction to see was nearly in strict conformity with  
the principle laid down in his majesty's message.  
This was carried without a division; and the  
address and resolutions being forthwith trans-  
mitted to the house of peers, the assent of that

assembly was obtained without any material alteration. And a joint address, as usual on great occasions, was presented to the throne. <sup>BOOK XXXIII.</sup> <sup>1800.</sup>

A bill, grounded upon the resolutions, was then introduced, and passed through both houses with great facility—the first day of the new year and the new century, JANUARY 1st, 1801, being the auspicious æra from and after which the union of the two kingdoms was to take effect.

On the 2d of July the royal assent was given to this important bill; and on the 29th of the same month the session was terminated by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed the peculiar satisfaction with which he congratulated the two houses of parliament on the success of the steps which they had taken for effecting an entire union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. “This great measure,” said the monarch, “on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign; being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to my Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings derived from the British constitution, and to establish, on the most solid foundations, the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole empire.”

The Irish session also, which had been pro-<sup>—And ratified by the Irish parliaments</sup> longed till the union-bill passed in England, in

BOOK XXXIII. order to its ratification with the several alterations and additions made by the British parliament in 1800. 1800. ment, with other necessary regulations respecting the election of the Irish representatives to the imperial legislature, was terminated on the 2d of August, and with it the existence of the parliament of Ireland. The chief-governor, lord Cornwallis, on this occasion, with great cordiality, communicated to the two houses "his majesty's warmest acknowledgements for the ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance which they had so conspicuously manifested in maturing and completing the great measure of a legislative union between that kingdom and Great Britain." His excellency added his own personal congratulations on the accomplishment of this great work, "which," he remarked, "had received the sanction of the sovereign on that auspicious day which placed his illustrious family on the throne of these realms;" and he expressed his firm conviction, "that it would remain in all future ages the fairest monument of his majesty's reign."

Military operations  
on the continent.

The military operations of the present year were no less important and interesting than its civil transactions. At the period when the court of London returned that haughty and wayward answer to the overture of the first consul which has been related, it had already become almost a matter of certainty that the emperor of Russia

would withdraw himself from the coalition, his <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~XXXIII.~~ extreme ill-humor having displayed itself in various striking instances. The recent ill success <sup>1800.</sup> ~~The emperor of Russia withdraws from the coalition.~~ of his arms, both in Germany and Holland, and the refusal of the court of Vienna to join in the *magnanimous declaration* of carrying on the war for the sole purpose of restoring the house of Bourbon, had wounded his pride and excited his anger. The supposed insult also offered to the Russian arms at the capture of the important maritime city of Ancona, by the Austrian general Frolich, who appeared, not without reason, jealous lest it should be forcibly occupied by the Russian troops; and the strange neglect by which the Russian auxiliaries in British pay had been sacrificed at Bergen; alienated the heart of the czar, if not from the cause *in which*, at least from the allies *with whom*, he was jointly engaged; and, in the month of January (1800), orders were dispatched to general Suwaroff to hasten his march into Poland.

The first consul had made to the court of Vienna specific overtures of pacification, nearly at the same time when he addressed a similar application to the court of London; and the imperial cabinet, far from returning a rude and insolent refusal, seemed long to hesitate on the propriety of entering into an amicable negotiation. The archduke Charles, a prince whose heroism in

BOOK war was equalled only by his love of peace, ex-  
XXXIII.  
1800. ~~erected~~ exerted his utmost influence to give effect to the system of conciliation. The court of Berlin interposed also its friendly mediation for the same purpose. But the machinations of the English ministry, seconded by the persuasions of the empress, and supported by her minister, baron Thugut, finally and unfortunately prevailed.

The appeal being once more made to the sword, the French nation, with its characteristic gallantry, accepted the challenge. On the 7th of March, a consular message communicated the determination of the coalesced powers to the legislative body. "FRENCHMEN," say the consuls, "you have been anxious for peace—your government has desired it with still greater ardor: its first steps, its most constant wishes, have been for its attainment. The English ministry have betrayed the secret of their horrible policy—to dismember France, destroy its marine and its ports, strike it out from the map of Europe, or lower it to the rank of secondary powers. To obtain this horrible triumph it is that England scatters its gold, becomes prodigal of its promises, and multiplies its intrigues. The first consul has engaged, that, if circumstances required, he would place himself at the head of his troops; but that, in the midst of battles and triumphs, he would invoke Peace, and swear to

fight only for the happiness of France and the repose of the world." A decree was then passed for the formation of an army of reserve at Dijon, of 60,000 men, which was to be commanded by the first consul in person.

BOOK  
XXXIII.1800.  
First con-  
sul takes  
the field in  
person.

On the 25th of April, the left wing of the French army, under generals St. Susanne and St. Cyr, passed the Rhine at Fort Kehl and New Brisac. The chief command was entrusted to general Moreau, who, not being limited by specific instructions, had full scope to display his great military talents. St. Susanne had forced the Austrians back upon Offenburg; and St. Cyr, having taken possession of Friburg, seemed to threaten the passes of the Black Forest. But this was only a deep feint. St. Susanne, re-passing the river, ascended it on the French side, pursuing the track of the divisions of St. Cyr and of Moreau, who had crossed the Rhine in person at Basle. By rapid movements a junction of the whole army was formed near Scaffhausen, where the river was again passed by general Lecourbe, at the head of the right wing, which, after reducing the strong fortress of Hohentweil, directed its course towards Kampten, a town in Upper Suabia, in the rear of the Austrian army, where the grand magazines were deposited. At the same time general Moreau advanced, May 3,

Successes  
of Moreau  
in Ger-  
many.

BOOK with the main army, to Engen, in order to attack  
XXXIII. the Austrians in their forward position.

1800. Maréchal Kray, the Austrian commander, though an officer of tried skill and bravery, had suffered himself to be completely deceived by the false demonstrations of St. Cyr and St. Susanne; and, confident of the enemy's intention to attack merely in front, he was astonished and alarmed to find himself in extreme danger of being surrounded and cut off from his magazines. Utterly unable, in the exposed situation which he now occupied, to resist these combined assaults, he retreated with great precipitation toward Moskirch; the magazines and stores being either conveyed away in haste, abandoned, or destroyed. In this new position, the Austrians were again attacked, May 5, by their indefatigable adversary. General Kray, however, defended himself gallantly, and the French were at length repulsed: nevertheless, on the next day the Austrian army prosecuted its retreat to Sigmaringen. A succession of bloody but indecisive engagements ensued;—but general Kray continued retreating, till he at last found shelter under the cannon of Ulm, an imperial city on the Danube; in the vicinity of which he remained for several weeks, strongly fortified and intrenched — his camp extending on both sides of the river,

the navigation of which it commanded; while <sup>BOOK</sup>  
 the French laid the circles of Suabia and Fran-<sup>XXXIII.</sup>  
 conia under severe contribution. <sup>1800.</sup>

The events of the war in Italy in the mean time attracted the attention of all Europe. It had been by some credulous persons expected that the entrance of the coalesced armies into Piedmont would have been signalled by the recall of the king of Sardinia; but the court of Vienna discovered no such intention, and probably felt no greater hesitation in appropriating to itself the spoils of the Sardinian monarchy than of the Venetian republic. Nothing now remained to the French but Genoa and the surrounding territory, which was regarded as a certain and easy prey; and all Italy, at this moment, seemed to bend submissive under the Austrian yoke. After the brilliant campaign of Massena in Switzerland, that general was deemed by the first consul the fittest man to sustain the military honor of the French name in Lombardy, and to defend to the last extremity the posts still occupied by the French troops. From Switzerland he had repaired to Paris, where he conferred with the chief consul; and, proceeding through Lyons and Toulon to Marseilles, he arrived, February 9, at Genoa, where his presence infused new life into the exhausted and spiritless soldiery.

<sup>Massena takes the command in Italy;</sup>—

BOOK XXXIII. On the 5th of April, lord Keith, with the British fleet under his command, appeared in the Gulf of Genoa, and formed the blockade of the port; while the army of general Melas, about 50,000 in number, approached close to the city by land, and extended its front along the whole line occupied by the French. The siege, which was not that of a single town, but of a connected chain of posts, defended by an army, was carried on with great vigor: and, in a few days from its commencement, Vado fell into the hands of the Austrians; by which means the division under general Suchet, to the westward of that place, was completely isolated: and, shortly after, the famous pass of the Bochetta was forced by the Austrian general; and the French commander found himself under the necessity of contracting his line of defence, and fortifying himself more strongly within the walls of the city. The operations of the besieged were now confined to desperate *sorties*; in divers of which the French were successful; but their numbers rapidly diminished, and their stores and provisions were nearly exhausted. The army of Bonaparte was too remote to come in aid of Massena, before the last of his soldiers should have perished with hunger. And general Suchet, compelled to abandon his strong post of the Col de Tende, retreated to Nice, closely pursued by the enemy. Nice

1800.  
—Besieged  
in Genoa.

being found untenable, he passed the Var into France, leaving the Austrians in possession of the whole department of the Maritime Alps.

1800.

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XXXIII.

The city of Savona surrendered to the Austrians on the 15th of May; and the English fleet bombarded Genoa itself with great effect. Scarcely could the presence of the French soldiery prevent an insurrection of the Genoese populace, who, with bitter cries and reproaches, clamored for peace. Still the heroic inflexibility of Massena disdained the idea of a capitulation, and he seemed determined to bury himself and his army under the ruins of Genoa.

During this interval, the first consul was anxiously revolving in his mind the means of rescuing Genoa and of recovering Italy. Thirty thousand conscripts had already arrived at Dijon. To these were united a number of troops returned from La Vendée, now completely tranquillised, and numerous volunteers from all parts of the republic. The army soon amounted to more than 50,000 men; and the gallant general Berthier was nominated to the immediate command. Early in the month of May the whole force moved in seven columns, by the route of Geneva, to the foot of the Great St. Bernard, situated on the confines of Switzerland and Savoy, near the sources of the Drance and the Doria. At Martigny they were joined by the first

Passage of  
the first  
consul  
across the  
Great St.  
Bernard.

BOOK XXXIII. ~~1800.~~ consul, who immediately arranged the necessary preparations for the astonishing enterprise which he had determined to attempt.

This tremendous mountain, whose huge and craggy rocks were at this season of the year covered with ice, seemed to bid defiance to every human effort, to find, or to force, a practicable passage for a numerous army, with its attendant train of carriages and artillery ; nor had the most celebrated Gallic generals, during the proudest periods of the monarchy, dared to conceive such a project. Since the age of Hannibal, the genius and fortune of whom seemed to revive in Bonaparte, so vast a design had never perhaps occupied the mind of any commander. On the summit of this famous mountain is a monastery, founded for the admirably beneficent purpose of relieving unfortunate and bewildered travellers, whose dreadful lot it might otherwise be to perish in the snows, which, for three-fourths of the year, here envelope the face of nature. In this sequestered and dreary solitude, the cold is excessive even in summer. There is scarcely a vestige of vegetation to be discerned : an immense perspective of mountains astonishes the view, and a perpetual silence terrifies the imagination. The monks inhabiting this monastery, whose religion is benevolence to all, are unhappily themselves the victims of a devout and asce-

tic melancholy. Their coarse and scanty fare with difficulty suffices for the support of life through the long winter which reigns in these horrific regions. Estranged equally from the cares and the enjoyments of existence, they see from their inaccessible heights the storms and tempests rolling beneath them ; and, without indulging, or even admitting, a sublunary thought, seem anxious only to dissolve every trace of connexion with the world, even while they continue to be classed in the number of its inhabitants.

From St. Pierre, where the army first began to ascend the mountain, to the convent, is three leagues, and no less than five hours were occupied in a march every step of which presented a new labor. The heavy artillery were conveyed in trees hollowed for the purpose, and with immense difficulty dragged up the steep and icy sides of the mountain ; the road in general affording a breadth of only two or three feet, with frequent chasms, and exposed to the fall of the fatal avalanches from the vast impending heights. The rapid descent of the mountain was scarcely less dangerous ; nor could either men or horses at all times maintain, with the most guarded care, their slippery footing. Not the slightest suspicion being entertained by the Austrian general of an attempt to force a passage into Lombardy in this direction,

BOOK  
XXXIII.  
1800.

BOOK no enemy appeared to obstruct their march,  
XXXIII. where a single troop might have opposed the pro-  
1800. gress of an army. Even when informed of the preparations made by the first consul for the invasion of Italy, general Melas treated the intelligence with proud and fatal contempt.

His rapid successes-- On the 26th Floreal (May 15) general Bonaparte took possession, after defeating a body of Austrians—the first which had ventured to show themselves—of the town of Aosta, situated on the banks of the Doria. He then proceeded to the attack of the celebrated fort of Bard, which is so constructed as to command, from the lofty eminence on which it is placed, the entrance of the valley of Aosta, where the opposing mountains approach within the distance of fifty yards. Having taken the principal outwork by assault, an effort was made to carry the fort by escalade, but repelled with loss. The inventive genius of the commander, nevertheless, ever fertile in expedients, discovered a narrow, and hitherto impracticable, passage across the neighbouring mountain, or rock, Albaredo. The artillery was transported, under cover of the night, at all hazards, through the pass of the valley, under the walls of the fort; the garrison of which, being menaced with another assault, and thinking no resistance available against such perseverance and temerity, now surrendered at discretion.

Ivrea and Romagno, at which last place a <sup>BOOK</sup> ~~BOOK~~ <sup>XXXIII.</sup> considerable force had assembled, next fell into ~~BOOK~~ <sup>1800.</sup> the hands of the French; the Austrian troops being completely defeated by general Lannes. On the 30th of May the first consul entered Vercelli, finding there large magazines; and, marching on to Novara, passed the Tessino after a sharp action. The Austrians retiring every-where before him, he took possession of Milan on —Takes the 2d of June. Here he was complimented by <sup>possession</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> Milan. the magistracy, and received with loud acclama-tions; which were the more likely to be sincere, as the oppression exercised by the Austrians was not only more recent, but far more grievous and indiscriminate, than that of the French, and to be exceeded only by the horrible barbarities of the infamous court of Naples. The celebrated phi-losopher Fontana, among innumerable other es-timable and distinguished persons—victims of their too ardent patriotism—was liberated from the dungeon into which he had been thrown, loaded with chains, for having accepted an office under the republican government, when no other government existed. A *Te Deum* was sung at the cathedral for the happy *deliverance* of Milan from the enemy, at which Bonaparte attended in person, “in spite,” as he expressed himself in a letter to the consuls Cambaceres and Le Brun, “of what the atheists of Paris may say.”

BOOK XXXIII. A proclamation was also issued by the first consul, replete with wisdom and moderation, addressed to the Cisalpine people ; in which he exhorted them to bury their former animosities in oblivion, and to unite in one general effort to establish, upon the most solid basis, a free and powerful state. He composed a provisional government of the most respectable and enlightened citizens ; promising them “ to fix the republic on the firm foundations of *religion and social order*, as soon as he had driven the enemy from their territory.” He commanded the generals of the different divisions to make no requisition for the use of the army without informing the chief commissary therewith, who was charged fully to indemnify the inhabitants furnishing the necessary supplies ; and, in every part of his conduct, he appeared to act upon a system of justice and equity, which restored confidence and infused the most animating hopes into every breast. General Bonaparte remained seven days at Milan, in order to refresh the troops, as well as to re-organise the several branches of the government.

The different divisions of the French army which had received directions to co-operate with the commander-in-chief in various and distant quarters, were all strongly actuated by the same spirit, and all participated in the same flow of success. The division of Mount Cenis, under

general Thureau, had forced that famous pass, and taken possession of Suza and Brunetto. BOOK  
XXXIII.  
1800. That under general Lannes, which had separated from the main army after the battle of Romagno, entered Chiavasso the 27th of May, seizing a great number of boats on the Po laden with rice and corn. He then captured the important town of Pavia, containing a vast quantity of military stores. And general Moncey, with labor inferior only to that of Bonaparte himself, traversing the Grisons and Mount St. Gothard at the head of 20,000 men detached from the army of the Rhine, had reached Bellinzona, and established himself on the borders of Lake Maggiore.

All these splendid achievements were, however, incompetent to avert, or even to retard, the fall of Genoa. The regular provisions of the garrison were now entirely consumed; and the extremities of famine, with all its attendant horrors, had been long endured by the inhabitants; when general Massena received a message from general Melas, inviting him to an interview with lord Keith and the generals Ott and St. Julien, who offered him a capitulation on the most honorable terms; but the French commander declared that no negotiation would be entered into if the word capitulation were mentioned. After a short demur, the overture

Evacuation  
of Ge-  
noa by the  
French.

BOOK being renewed and modified, a CONVENTION was  
XXXIII. signed on the 6th of June; according to the terms  
1800. of which, Genoa was to be evacuated by the RIGHT  
WING of the French army, the general-in-chief  
of which, and his staff, were to be at liberty to  
join the centre of the said army by land; and  
the rest to be transported to France, with their  
arms and baggage, by way of Nice and Antives.  
Such were the honorable terms which the heroic  
defence of general Massena entitled him to  
claim from the prudence, no less than the gene-  
rosity, of the enemy.

The Austrian commander seemed not a little elated with the magnitude and importance of this new acquisition. In the proclamation issued by him on his entrance into the city of Genoa, he thus expresses himself:—" Since Divine Providence, continuing to shower down its blessings upon the troops of his imperial, royal, and apostolical majesty, has deigned to succour this people, who, under the yoke of an anarchical government, had for a season forgotten those sentiments of religion for which they had been at all former times distinguished, WE may believe that each inhabitant will not only return thanks to the GOD of ARMIES for the *deliverance* obtained, but will make it his duty to co-operate in the public tranquillity, by his submission to the orders which shall be found provisionally

most proper for the government of this city <sup>BOOK</sup> and *province*." The proclamation concludes <sup>XXXIII.</sup> with menacing all contraveners of such orders <sup>1800.</sup> with prompt and terrible punishment; and exhorting all the inhabitants "to act conformably to those sentiments of *gratitude* which the firmness of his imperial majesty, who has spared no sacrifice for the *deliverance* of the city and *province*, ought to inspire." Nothing contained in this proclamation seemed to indicate any more or further intention, on the part of the emperor, to re-establish the Genoese republic, than the Sardinian monarchy; and it did not, at this moment, appear utterly improbable, that the devouring ambition of Austria might be ultimately gratified by the acquisition of its most darling object—the undivided possession of Lombardy.

General Melas had long imagined the army of Dijon to be as fabulous as the soldiers of Cadmus; and, when its existence was ascertained, so defective was his intelligence, that he deemed it composed at most of eighteen or twenty thousand men, intended to make a diversion into Italy with a view to draw off the Austrians from the blockade of Genoa; and he despised the distant threats of an invasion, which he regarded as a rash and impracticable attempt. Roused, at length, from his dreams of security, he repaired in the beginning of June to Pied-

BOOK mont, and assembled in haste the main body of  
XXXIII. his army, in order to defend the passage of the  
1800. Po and the approaches to Turin and Asti. But  
to his surprise, the French general, instead of  
proceeding immediately to the relief of Genoa,  
crossed the Tessino, and established himself in  
the Milanese. On this intelligence the Aus-  
trians, commanded by general Ott, fell back  
upon Montebello. The French had now, after  
concentrating their forces, taken a strong posi-  
tion on the northern bank of the Po, below its  
junction with the Tessino, when it becomes a  
stream of great depth and magnitude; and on  
the 8th of June the van-guard of the army, under  
general Lannes, passed that river opposite to  
Stradella, after a vigorous resistance by the force  
opposed to them. On the next day, urging  
their march to Montebello, they were furiously  
attacked by the flower of the Austrian army, un-  
der general Ott. The conflict was doubtful,  
till general Watrin, arriving with reinforce-  
ments, decided the event in favor of the republi-  
cans; and the enemy, after the loss of three  
thousand men, and twelve pieces of cannon,  
retreated to Voghera. A few hours after the  
battle, general Desaix arrived at the head-quar-  
ters, and was received with transport by the first  
consul and all the army.

By the prisoners captured at Montebello,

intelligence was communicated of the surrender of Genoa; and the French army advanced to Tortona, while the Austrians established themselves in great force at Alessandria. On the 13th of June the French decamped from Tortona, and marched towards Alessandria—the van halting for some time at St. Juliano, a hamlet situated a league from Tortona, at the entrance of the plain of MARENGO. As soon as the different divisions came up, both infantry and cavalry moved forward in order of battle. General Bonaparte, attended by his *suite*, traversing the plain, examined the ground with great attention; meditating deeply, and occasionally giving instructions. Notwithstanding the vicinity of the two armies, an awful silence prevailed; and before midnight all seemed hushed into a profound and portentous repose.

On the 14th of June, at day-break, the French formed in two lines, the wings being protected by strong bodies of cavalry, and the village of Marengo supporting the centre. The Austrian line extended two leagues on the banks of the Bormida, over which a bridge had been previously thrown. Eighty pieces of cannon preceded the Austrian battalions, and discharged into the ranks of the French dreadful showers of shot and shells. The battle soon raged in every point of the line. After several hours' close con-

B O O K  
XXXIII.  
1800.

~~BOOK~~ flict, the left wing of the French, under general ~~XXXIII.~~ Victor, began to give way. At the same time ~~1800.~~ the right wing, under general Lannes, was hard pressed, and with difficulty resisted the efforts of a numerous body of cavalry, which assaulted the enemy in flank, and threatened to turn that wing of the army. Everywhere the clouds of Austrian cavalry overspread the plain, and, masking several pieces of light artillery, did terrible execution. Notwithstanding the heroic exertions of Bonaparte, who, assisted by general Berthier, commanded in the centre, and in person repeatedly rallied the troops and led them to the charge, it was perceived that the Austrians gained ground, till at length the whole line was thrown into dangerous disorder. Several divisions, broken and unable to resume their stations, retired altogether from the field, and the garrison of Tortona making a vigorous sally in the rear, the situation of the French became very critical. Orders had been repeatedly sent for the reserve to advance with all speed; but the divisions of Desaix and Monnier were still at a great distance.

Behind the centre of the French was a defile, having a wood on the one side, and on the other a chain of vineyards extending to the village of Marengo. Here the first consul determined to make his ultimate stand, and to defend to the ut-

most the entrance of this defile. The Austrians, <sup>B O O K</sup> ~~XXXIII.~~ <sup>1800.</sup> animated by success, redoubled their efforts, and the ground was everywhere strewed with the dead and dying. To retreat, was inevitable destruction to the French, as the Austrian cavalry were posted at the other extremity of the defile, eagerly awaiting the issue of the combat. At four in the afternoon, after an astonishing struggle, the French still maintained their position. General Melas, irritated at the obstinate opposition of this phalanx of veterans, resolved, in a fatal moment, to adopt the hazardous manœuvre of extending his wings, in order to turn the centre of the enemy, and, by throwing his infantry into the vineyards and woods, to enclose the French and cut off all retreat. At this moment the divisions of Desaix and Monnier were descried at a distance; and Fortune and Victory seemed, in the view of the anxious expectants, to hover round their standards. General Bonaparte, whose watchful eye nothing could escape, perceiving the Austrian line dangerously weakened by the last movements, and having intelligence of the near approach of Desaix, determined upon one grand effort. As the battalions of reserve came up, they formed in line of battle on the right; and every thing being previously prepared, the generals Bonaparte and Berthier, with the officers of the staff, passed

BOOK through the ranks, in the face of a most tremen-  
XXXIII. dous fire, inspiring that confidence which is the best  
1800. and surest omen of success. At length, the signal  
being given, every corps was at once in motion ;  
and returning like lions to the charge, the defile  
was in an instant cleared of the enemy, who,  
in their turn, astonished and dismayed, were  
pursued with vigor by the French cavalry,  
under the gallant general Murat. Those divisions  
of the French which had retired from the  
scene of action, now re-entered the plain ; and  
the whole army being formed anew, presented a  
formidable front. On the right, also, general  
Desaix carried all before him ; and, falling on  
the advanced post of St. Stephano, made dread-  
ful slaughter of the Austrian left wing. General  
Victor, on the other side, rallying his troops,  
not only resumed his position, but drove the  
Austrians back to the Bormida. In the very  
height of the exultation excited by all these  
successes, general Desaix received a mortal  
wound from a musket-ball. This only served  
to inflame still higher the military ardor of the  
troops, who were impatient to avenge the death  
of their beloved commander. When Bonaparte  
was informed of the fate of this distinguished  
officer, he exclaimed, without further notice,  
“ Why am I not permitted to weep for him ? ”  
The Austrian cavalry charged once more in a

mass, but without effect; they were repulsed with loss, by the far inferior force of general Murat.

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Night was now coming on, and the confusion of the Austrian army was irremediable. Giving way on all sides, and in the utmost disorder, they at length reached the bridge of the Bormida, where they fought in heroic despair till after sunset. Cavalry, infantry, and artillery, all in vain striving against the increasing pressure of the enemy, and attempting to pass the bridge at once, a frightful scene of carnage ensued; and the shattered remains of the different legions which had been so long victoriously engaged on the plain of Marengo, now with difficulty saved themselves from utter destruction. The village clock sounded the hour of ten, when the French, weary of slaughter, returned slowly to their camp. The field, covered with the dying and the dead in promiscuous heaps, presented a dreadful spectacle; and the cries of the wounded, to whom little or no relief could be administered till the dawn of the morning, excited all the sympathies of humanity. This day cost the Austrians about 15,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with twenty-six pieces of cannon; the loss of the French could scarcely fall short of ten thousand. Never was there a more obstinate combat—never was a victory disputed with more fury; and few with superior skill or judgement. The two ar-

BOOK XXXIII. 1800. mies were engaged for fourteen hours within musket shot;—it was, in one word, a battle worthy to decide the fate of Italy.

Death of general Desaix.

The death of Desaix excited the deepest sorrow and regret. On the next day his remains, covered only with his cloak, were conveyed to Milan in an open carriage. “Every eye,” says a spectator, “was moistened with tears while looking on the inanimate blood-stained corse\*.” He was not quite thirty-two years of age, but he had lived long enough for fame and glory. His conduct at Weissenburg, at Lauterburg, at Kehl, and more recently in Egypt, had raised him to a high rank as a warrior; and his private character seemed composed of all that was either amiable or estimable in human nature. The character given him in common by friends and foes, was that of being a second chevalier Bayard—“*Sans peur, et sans reproche*†.”

Armistice between the French and Austrians.

Early the next morning an Austrian officer arrived to treat of an armistice; and general

\* Vide Petit's Campaign of Italy, A. D. 1800.

† The elegant lines of PRIOR, in his Ode to the Memory of Colonel Villiers, may, without any violence of allusion, be applied to the young and accomplished DESAIX:—

“Lay the dead hero graceful in a grave,—

“The only honor he can now receive;

“And fragrant mould upon his body throw,

“And plant the warrior laurel o'er his brow;

“Light lie the earth, and flourish green the bough!” }

Berthier, to whom this negotiation was entrusted, in the course of the same day concluded articles with general Melas which filled the French with joy and astonishment. They imported, that a suspension of hostilities should immediately take place, and remain inviolate until an answer could be received from the court of Vienna; and in case of objection to the conditions of the armistice, ten days' notice of the renewal of hostilities to be given;—that, in consideration of this suspension, the castles of Tortona, Alessandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzighitone, Arona, and Placentia, shall be put into the hands of the French before the 20th June; and the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, Savona, and the city of Genoa, before the 24th of the same month; and Urbino on the 26th;—that the imperial army shall occupy all the country situated below the Mincio and the Po, including Peschiera, Mantua, and the city of Ferrara, on the right bank of that river; also Tuscany and Ancona: and that the French army shall occupy the country comprised between the Chiesca, the Oglio, and the Po,—the intermediate space being left wholly unoccupied. On the conclusion of the armistice, the first consul made a present to general Melas, of a rich Turkish sabre, in token of his esteem; and that officer expressed in high terms his admiration of Bonaparte's extraordinary talents and genius.

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The first consul having so speedily and prosperously executed his arduous commission, now prepared to return to Paris. Arriving at Milan on the 17th of June, he attended once more at the cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was chaunted in honor of the *deliverance of ITALY*. He said to the Milanese patriots—"Let them have MASS; the PEOPLE are SOVEREIGN. If they will have religion, learn to respect their will." And in a conference with the clergy, he exhorted them "to preach and practise the morality of JESUS CHRIST." He recognised and declared the Cisalpine republic to be a free and independent nation, establishing a provisional executive government of nine persons; and directed a *consulta* to be convoked, in order to prepare a constitution for the new republic, thus rising like a phoenix from its ashes.

Re-esta-  
blishment  
of the Cis-  
alpine re-  
public.

On the 26th of June, general Bonaparte departed for Turin, and entered that capital amid the loudest acclamations of the people. He left that royal residence of the Sardinian monarch, after a transient visit; traversed Mount Cenis, passed by Chamberri, and arrived at Lyons on the evening of the 28th. There, as in all other places, the highest honors were paid to him. The quays, bridges, and even the roofs of the houses, were covered with spectators, whose animating gratulations were blended with military music, and discharges of artillery. During

his stay of twenty-four hours at Lyons, he laid the first stone of the beautiful place of Belle-Cour; and, touched with the deep distress which that superb city had experienced since the commencement of the revolution, he consoled the public functionaries, who presented complimentary addresses to him, with the most kind and encouraging declarations.

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Passing by Dijon, he arrived in the capital on the 3d of July, after an absence of little more than two months, receiving, without any appearance of elation or vanity, the congratulations of all the constituted authorities of Paris, and of the ministers of foreign powers. The address of the department of Paris, delivered by the prefect, thus expressed the sentiments with which, at this auspicious moment, every breast was animated:—“ In the history of the world we find, CITIZEN CHIEF CONSUL, the most splendid victories to be only splendid calamities ; and the remotest posterity wept the blood-stained laurels of the conqueror. You, general-consul, have created a new kind of glory, as an example to heroes, who, like you, shall be called to defend the independence and the happiness of their country—it is for PEACE that you have never ceased to fight, and to conquer. To you it is given to unite all parties at home—to triumph over the greatest captains abroad—to be

Return of  
the first  
consul to  
Paris.

**BOOK** at once conqueror and pacifier. Enjoy, general-consul, the adoption of all Europe—you do not belong only to France. There are men of whom the world has a right to be proud. Every one of our fellow-citizens blesses with us the chief magistrate of the republic, who, for the accomplishment of its glorious destinies, is about to give peace to Europe, and to restore France to the universe."

By an article of the Italian armistice, neither of the armies, during the suspension, was allowed to send reinforcements into Germany, which was now the only scene of military operations. For nearly two months general Moreau had sought nothing further than to amuse general Kray by marches and counter-marches, and to alarm the court of Vienna for the safety of the hereditary states. General Kray, however, remained in his entrenched camp before Ulm, which by new works he had made almost impregnable. On receiving intelligence of the victory of Marengo, the French commander was at liberty to unfold the enterprise of his character, after a display of the most consummate prudence. He therefore prepared to cross the Danube, and if possible to bring general Kray to a decisive action. For this purpose he detached a strong corps under Lecourbe, at the end of June, to pass that river below Ulm, in

Further  
successes  
of Mo-  
reau in  
Germany.

order to cut off the Austrian general from his magazines at Donawert and Ratisbon. In this design he was in a great degree successful. General Kray immediately raised his camp, and leaving a numerous garrison at Ulm, crossed the river at Newburg. A series of actions ensued, in which the Austrians upon the whole were very much worsted; and in the result, general Kray fell back on Ingoldstadt, leaving the French masters of the whole electorate of Bavaria to the south of the Danube; and general Moreau immediately established his head quarters at Munich. A very numerous detachment now rapidly advanced, under the orders of general Lecourbe, towards the Tyrol, to seize upon the Voralberg and the Grisons, and form a junction with the army of Italy. This bold manœuvre was crowned with such success, that the French had already taken possession of Coire, the capital of that country; when, in consequence of the important intelligence that count St. Julien had arrived at Paris from Vienna with proposals of peace, it was agreed that the armistice of Italy should be in like manner extended to Germany, leaving, for the line of demarcation, the posts occupied at the period when this convention was concluded (July 15) by the respective armies.

On the 28th of July, articles of pacification were signed by count St. Julien and M. Talley-

Preliminary articles of

BOOK XXXIII. rand, at Paris, on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio—subject to modification on certain subordinate points—which were immediately ratified by the French government. But when these articles reached Vienna, the entire proceeding was violently opposed by the British ambassador, lord Minto, and the whole Anglo-Austrian party in that court, who inveighed against the dishonor and dishonesty of a separate treaty. The articles in question being confessedly provisional, and the powers of the count St. Julien being in fact extremely limited, the emperor could by no means be charged with any violation of public faith, in refusing his imperial ratification—to which step he was at length, and in an evil moment, persuaded—of the articles signed at Paris; or of any conditions whatever, unless his ally the king of Great Britain were expressly comprehended in the negotiation.

peace signed at Paris.

The emperor refuses his ratification.

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.



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